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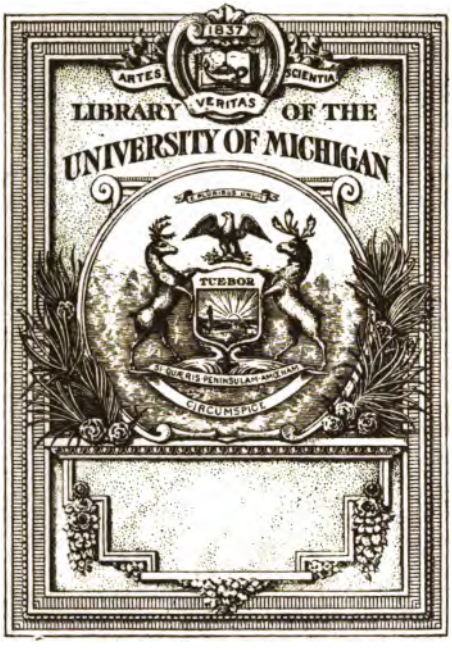
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DOCUMENTS ON THE WAR OF THE NATIONS

THE LUSITANIA CASE

COLLECTED AND PUBLISHED

BY

C. L. DROSTE

VOLUME II.

RICHMOND, VA.:
THE DIETZ PRINTING COMPANY
1915

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PRICE: ONE DOLLAR

FOREWORD.

Even to those who were aware that the Government which had declared its intention of sinking the *Lusitania* if possible was one unaccustomed to "diplomatic bluffing," the destruction of the vessel was a surprise. To the majority of Americans and particularly to those whose trust in British statements had led them to scoff at the danger of the submarine, the sinking of the liner came as a great shock; and like the emotional excitement aroused by the accident to the *Maine* it tended to discharge itself automatically on some object.

How near we were to some irresponsible act in those days when mere sentimentality and the prejudice long fostered by a venal press service seemed about to secure complete control of America's destiny, we shall probably never know; we certainly had a "war-scare."

We may not perhaps be able to agree with the foreign policy of our President at that time nor at any time during the present war; we may be thoroughly persuaded that it is decidedly pro-English in spite of his neutrality proclamation; but I doubt whether there is any one among the many opponents of his policy who does not heave a sigh of relief at the thought of how much worse the situation might now be if an out-and-out jingo President of magalomaniac tendencies had occupied the White House. How often at the close of many a discussion of "neutrality," "embargo," "international law," etc., we have all of us heard such statements as: "But just think what would have happened if X had been in the chair. It would have meant certain war."

If prejudice seemed to control the utterances of the Government at that time, or if in that crisis dangerous diplomatic blunders were made, as I myself believe, at least there was sanity and a measure of deliberation and rational consideration which made diplomatic negotiation at least possible and gave an excited populace time to cool off and take a look at matters from a different point of view than the ready-made one furnished it by newspapers controlled by the British Government and edited by British subjects.

The spirit of *audiatur et altera pars* became somewhat of a reality and gradually many of those whose resentment at the loss of American lives was most violent were forced to realize that this loss was after all quite incidental to the real issues raised into sudden prominence by the catastrophe.

Whether these questions are to be settled eventually in accordance with the code of international law prevailing at the beginning of this war, or in accordance with the conditions brought about by the development

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of the submarine as an instrument of naval warfare, is to the average American of much less importance than the question whether in the settlement we maintain an attitude of strict neutrality, so that in the end our Government can stand before all its citizens and before the forum of history with clean hands. "American Neutrality" must not become a term of reproach like Punic Faith.

It is of the utmost importance to the true interests of our country that its own vital unity be not sacrificed or imperilled either by political hobby-riding or by the assumption of any position that could be challenged justly by any American citizen as insincere or unfair to either belligerent. That only is the American point of view, and every American, no matter what qualifying word may happen to stand in front of his hyphen, has a right to make his voice heard in the debate.

We have had a flood of cant about the hyphen and several feeble but strenuous efforts to define the term "Americanism" so as to limit its connotation to the protagonist of British interests; it has even been suggested officially that Americanism has such an international significance as to be fretted by the narrow confines of a "negative neutrality."

But certainly if Americanism has not lost its vitality completely it still means to be just in the most unequivocal sense of this word. It means the square deal with all the cards on the table. It implies that both sides of any question are to receive impartial consideration. It is really the antithesis of hypocrisy and cant. In this truly American spirit the articles in this volume have been collected and are now presented to that body of just and reflecting citizens which in spite of all appearances to the contrary is after all still the final court of appeal and the real government in this country.

HERBERT SANBORN.

NASHVILLE, TENN., October 18, 1915.

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I.

Should Passenger Vessels Carry War Material.

The Law as to Carrying Explosives on Passenger Vessels.

The *Lusitania* case has brought out the suggestion from many sources that human life could be saved if the governments concerned would see to it that no passenger vessel should carry arms and ammunition or other explosives.

The attention of *The Post* has been directed to the fact that this subject is already covered by existing law, and that the collector of the port of New York could have prevented the *Lusitania* from sailing—that it was, in fact, his duty to withhold clearance papers, in view of the fact that the *Lusitania* was carrying dangerous explosives and steerage passengers at the same time, in violation of law.

The law referred to is the "act to regulate the carriage of passengers by sea," enacted in 1882 and amended in 1903, 1904 and 1908. Section 8 reads, in part, as follows:

"That it shall not be lawful to take, carry or have on board any such steamship or other vessel any nitroglycerin or any other explosive article or compound, nor any vitriol or like acids, nor gunpowder, except for the ship's use, nor any article or number of articles, whether as cargo or ballast, which, by reason of the nature or quantity, or mode of storage thereof, shall, either singly or collectively, be likely to endanger the health or lives of the passengers or the safety of the vessel. * * * For every violation of any of the provisions of this section the master of the vessel shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined not exceeding $1,000 and be imprisoned for a period not exceeding one year."

Another section of the act provides that this prohibition shall apply to every steamer or other vessel whereon emigrant passengers are taken on board at a port in the United States for conveyance to any foreign country.

The testimony brought out in the Lusitania case indicates that the steamer was struck by a torpedo, the explosion of which caused another explosion of war material in the cargo, wrecking the vessel and causing it to sink within half an hour.

If this be true, it is possible that the lives of the passengers on the *Lusitania* would not have been lost if the law above cited had been observed and enforced.

That human life is in serious danger, even in times of peace, on steamships carrying explosives, has been proved many times. In time of war it is a crime to permit passenger vessels to carry explosives, or to permit passengers to travel on freight steamers loaded with explosives.

The law makes it the duty of collectors of customs to direct the examination of steamers "by an inspector or other officer of the customs, who shall make the examination and report whether the provisions of this act have been complied with."

Why is not this law enforced?—*Washington Post*, May 18, 1915.

"Is Not An Explosive."

Fixed Ammunition Legal Shipment on Ocean Liners.

QUESTION TAKEN UP HERE.

INTIMATION THAT GERMANY MAY ACCUSE THE LUSITANIA'S CAPTAIN OF VIOLATING AMERICAN LAW MET BY STATEMENT THAT PRESIDENT LOOKED INTO THIS MATTER BEFORE WRITING NOTE TO BERLIN.

Intimations from Berlin that the American note would be met in the forthcoming German reply with the statement that a United States law of 1882 prohibited transportation of explosives on pasenger vessels and the captain of the *Lusitania* was, therefore, breaking American laws, brought to light here yesterday the fact that this subject had been fully considered in the preparation of the American note.

Officials of the State Department were informed by officers of the Department of Commerce, charged with administration of the act, that there was nothing in American law to prohibit the carrying of passengers on ships which also carried fixed explosives, although the carriage of gunpowder and similar combustibles, in themselves explosives, was forbidden.

OPINION FRAMED IN 1911.

The matter was submitted in 1911 to Solicitor Earl of the Department of Commerce and Labor, who concluded his opinion as follows:

"If, therefore, as a matter of fact, small arms ammunition can be carried without endangering the lives or health of passengers or the safety of the vessel, the transportation thereof is, in my opinion, sanctioned by the language used in section 8 of the passenger act."

The opinion discusses the nature of gunpowder and similar explosives and holds that small arms ammunition, while gunpowder enters into its construction, cannot be considered as the same thing, since it is not subject to explosion in itself.

Officials of the Commerce and State Departments, it is understood, hold that the same reasoning applies to all manner of fixed ammunition, torpedoes and the like.—*Washington Post,* May 20, 1915.

Some Questions Regarding the Lusitania.

There are several incidents in connection with the sinking of the *Lusitania* which have not been explained, and upon which the American people would like to have light.

The British government was aware that a desperate effort was to be made to sink the *Lusitania.* The warning issued by Germany was as well known in England as in the United States. The captain of the *Lusitania* is an officer of the royal naval reserve, and he was in communication with the British admiralty at all times. He was under orders from the admiralty, and the ship's movements were controlled by these orders.

Why was it, then, that Capt. Turner took the beaten path and appeared in the war zone exactly on schedule time, at the place where the enemy might expect to find him?

Why was it that he slowed down from 24 or more knots to 17 knots, at the same time blowing his fog whistle continually, although the weather was fine and clear?

Why was it that no British patrol boats or torpedo boats or other warships appeared to escort the *Lusitania,* in view of the warning that had been issued by the enemy?

Why was it that the consorship was applied with drastic severity, completely shutting off all information as to the nature of the instruction given to Capt. Turner?

Capt. Turner testified at the inquest that he obeyed the wireless orders of the admiralty. What were those orders, and why does the British government conceal them from the public?

The suggestion is made in some quarters that the British government actually relied upon the presence of American passengers on the *Lusitania* as a safeguard against attack; that instead of guarding the *Lusitania* with warships, or ordering her to take another route and try to evade submarines, the British government deliberately used the American passengers as a shield, relying upon their presence to save the ship and its cargo of war material from attack.

The *Post* makes no charge that the British government and the master of the *Lusitania* deliberately placed the vessel in the track of danger and advertised her presence there, in the confident expectation that the German submarines would let the vessel pass rather than run the risk of destroying American lives. But we do say that if Capt. Turner had desired to give German submarines notice of his identity and whereabouts, and had desired to facilitate in every way a successful torpedo attack, he could not have taken more effective means to carry out his purpose. Therefore, in common with many other Americans, this newspaper would like to know what answer would be made to the questions propounded above.—*Washington Post,* May 18, 1915.

The Voice of the People.

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—I am, was, and will ever be, an American in all senses of the word. Both my father and grandfather before me wore the suit of gray.

Since the outbreak of the war, it has been my lot to travel some thousands of miles and come into close touch with all classes of people, and I have found that the sentiment of the "people" is mostly for the Germans, which is contrary to the ideas spread by the press. The sentiments of the press and public differ entirely from one another.

My main object in writing is to protest against the stand *The Times-Dispatch* and other newspapers have taken in the matter of the *Lusitania.* Christ once said: "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone." The majority of the American papers have run amuck in their condemnations of the Germans. They forget we "water-cured" the Filipinos because they fought for their liberty. They forget that, for the sake of profits, thousands of children are worked to death in the mills of the South and the factories of the North; that, for the sake of dividends, the railroads kill and injure thousands yearly. There are those in this country who

deserve far more condemnation than the Germans. The "embalmed beef" fed to our soldiers in 1898 killed more Americans than the Germans will ever kill.

To revert to the *Lusitania,* every one deeply regrets the loss of American lives, even the Germans. Yet I have heard many say they believe Germany justified in her action, and this opinion is, no doubt, shared by the majority of those people in this country in whose blood flows, even in part, the blood of the Germans, Austrians and Irish, and whose number runs into tens of millions.

We should not forget that the *Lusitania* carried ammunition to be used to kill Germans; that she flew the flag of Germany's enemy; that the public was warned months ago to stay out of the war zone. Those who sailed showed a mistaken faith in the statements of the Cunard Line, the control of the sea by the British navy and a contempt for the frank statements of the Germans to destroy British merchantmen. They have no one to blame but themselves, and their fate was what they should have expected, and actually deserved, for their impudent rejection of German warnings.

The guilt lies wholly upon the British, who first violated international law by refusing food-stuffs entrance into Germany, and so caused the blockade of submarines. Also, they requested merchantmen to arm themselves, in order to sink submarines or to ram them. And now, because a submarine saw fit to protect itself by not giving warning and because it prevented ammunition from landing and being used to destroy the lives of their countrymen, all American papers set up a howl. Britain should not use women and children to protect their shipments of contraband. They are the cowards, not the Germans. Their fear alone prevented a proper convoy of warships for the *Lusitania.*

If this country desires to act, it should demand both sides to respect international rules. That will mean that England must stop her tyranny of the waves and permit shipment of noncontraband into Germany, and also that Germany must sink merchantmen according to rules.

DR. ROLAND B. GROM.

Richmond, May 12, 1915.

—*Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch,* May 13, 1915.

Explosives on Passenger Steamers.

It is urged in explanation of the practice of permitting passenger ships to leave American ports loaded with explosives that the solicitor of the Department of Commerce rendered an opinion in 1911 that ammunition did not come within the prohibition of the passenger act of 1882. Apparently this "opinion" has been followed by collectors of customs,

rather than the law itself. The law does not specifically prohibit the carriage of ammunition on passenger steamers, but it does make it unlawful to "take, carry, or have on board * * * any article or number of articles, whether as cargo or ballast, which, by reason of the nature or quantity or mode of storage thereof, shall either singly or collectively, be likely to endanger the health or lives of the passengers or the safety of the vessel."

Obviously, if a passenger steamer is loaded with ammunition in such quantity as to endanger the lives of passengers, the law has been violated, notwithstanding departmental opinions. The question of quantity and mode of storage is left with the collector of customs. He may take the side of caution, or he may permit a vessel to go to sea loaded with passengers and a dangerous quantity of ammunitions of war. It would seem that in time of war, with vessels liable to attack by torpedoes, the collector should be doubly careful in preventing the departure of any steamer carying a considerable amount of ammunition. The safest rule to follow would be refusal to clear any passenger vessel that has any ammunition on board, regardless of quantity.—*Washington Post,* May 20, 1915.

Americans Should Avoid British Merchant Vessels.

Whether the United States and Germany come to an understanding or not, the situation in the war zone would be simplified and lives would be saved if Americans would refrain from traveling on British merchant vessels.

Germany claims the right to destroy British merchant vessels because they are carrying war materials. The United States would have no quarrel with Germany on this score if American passengers were not on board.

It is an established rule of war that no merchant vessel be armed, or offer resistance to capture. The presence of guns on board transforms the vessel into a man of war, whatever it may pretend to be, and, of course, it may be sunk forthwith. By resisting, a merchant vessel virtually acts as a war vessel, and the enemy is fully justified in destroying it.

A vessel cannot be both a merchant vessel and a warship. It is entitled to certain immunities as a merchant vessel which it loses if it uses force against the pursuer. One of these immunities is that it shall not be sunk, whatever its cargo, unless the captor is unable to take it into port.

Germany has canceled this law of war by sinking British merchant vessels on sight, without giving the crews an opportunity to take to the boats. So long as this practice is confined to British vessels, it is no concern of the United States, if American passengers are not on board.

Germany has given reassurance, under date of May 11th, that it has no intention of causing to be attacked by submarine or airships any neutral vessel in the war zone, even when they have contraband of war on board. It "unreservedly recognizes its responsibility therefor" in case of the accidental destruction of such a neutral vessel.

British merchant vessels have invited destruction by arming themselves and by giving notice that they would resist capture. Several British skippers have boasted that they would ram submarines. In doing this they are transforming their vesels into warships, and, of course, passengers traveling in them are subjected to deadly peril.

Americans would not think of traveling in the war zone on British or German warships. They would expect disaster. But they are doing the equivalent of this when they travel on British merchant vessels, which have been marked for destruction by German submarines.

It is unsafe for any person to travel on any British merchant vessel in the war zone, no matter what the cargo may be, and no matter whether the vessel is armed or not.—*Washington Post,* May 14, 1914.

The Carrying of Explosives.

The United States has asked Germany to refrain from killing American citizens traveling upon merchant vessels of any nationality. The demand is just, and it is the firm determination of Americans to enforce it.

Germany lays the blame upon the Cunard Company because that company carried explosives upon a passenger ship in violation of law. The German note declares that if there had been no explosives aboard the passengers would not have been lost.

While the United States and Germany are thrashing out their differences, would it not be well for this government to insure safety to passengers by absolutely prohibiting the shipment of explosives on passenger-carrying steamers? The law prohibits the carrying of explosives. By a departmental ruling, small ammunition is excluded from the list of explosives. That ruling is open to serious objection. Ammunition may become a deadly peril to a ship, if carried in large quantities and subjected to explosion, as it would be by a torpedo. The ammunition on the *Lusitania* amounted to 5,400 cases—certainly a quantity of explosives sufficient to be placed under the ban of the law, even liberally interpreted.

In demanding that foreign nations shall not take the lives of Americans, the United States government is in duty bound to see that its own laws are enforced, so that there may be no excuse for violation of American rights by others.

No passenger steamer leaving American shores should be permitted to carry explosives of any kind, in any quantity. If this rule were en-

forced, the safety of Americans would be enhanced, and the government would be able to make still more emphatic its demand that no steamship carrying American passengers shall be destroyed without giving them a chance to escape.—*Washington Post,* June 2, 1915.

Mixed Cargo.

Whether passengers should be carried on ships engaged in transporting ammunition and war supplies—entirely aside from Germany's interests in the matter, or her submarine policy—is, still, an unsettled question.

If we are not mistaken, however, our own State and national laws have attempted to deal with this question, in a somewhat similar form, by preventing railroads, or their passengers, from carrying dynamite, or other explosives, on passenger coaches. The reason is obvious.

The following "manifest" of the White Star liner *Arabic,* which sailed from New York for Liverpool a few weeks ago—carrying eighty-one first-class and 250 second-class passengers—may assist us in coming to a proper conclusion as to the desirability, or the plain common sense, of these mixed cargoes. According to *The New York World* the *Arabic* carried: War munitions—400 cases of cartridges, 41 automobiles, 795 barrels of lubricating oil, 565 barrels of grease, 5,047 pigs of lead, 3,370 bars of copper, 5,216 ingots of copper, 730 reels of barbed wire, 1,516 pieces of forgings for guns, 14,014 packages of steel. American passengers—John Coyne, Chicago; Mrs. George Platt, Boston.

Yet, the presence of these American passengers—or any passengers—on this munition ship would, if Great Britain's contention prevails, give her a guarantee of safety through the war zone—and permit her to land this large cargo of war munitions safely in the hands of Germany's enemies.

It hardly seems fair, does it, that these great passenger ships—widely advertised as "floating hotels"—should be turned into ammunition transports.—*Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle,* June 18, 1915.

U. S. Submarine Policy May Be Bad Precedent, He Says.

Editor Post:

International law is largely made up by precedent. As it stands today, it is by no means final, and we must consider the influence our present policy will have on it; how international law, shaped thus, will effect our future and that of other nations.

Let us assume that our nation after the conclusion of the present

war will be forced into war. Supposing our navy were defeated and an army of our opponent were operating against us on American soil. What could prevent our opponent from buying arms and ammunition in some neutral country and ship them on ships openly advertised as excursion steamers, it not even being necessary to hide the presence of the contraband of war.

What could a commander of an American submarine do in a case like that? Absolutely nothing, in case our present demands are incorporated into international law.

We are in danger to deprive ourselves of an important use of a powerful weapon and are trying to work an injustice, not only to ourselves, but also to other, especially smaller, nations. Let us agree with Germany on a code of submarine warfare, the chief article of which would be that no passenger ship be allowed to carry contraband of war.

Chicago, Ill. ALBERT PELTER.

—*Washington Post,* June 7, 1915.

The Responsibility of the Lusitania Disaster.

Have Custom Officials and Ship Officers Evaded the Law?—Are They Guilty of Manslaughter?

The editor of this paper has spent the greater part of the last two weeks trying to locate and fasten the *responsibility* for the *Lusitania* disaster. After a week's investigation and discussion with officials in Washington, some statistics of the laws of the United States were discovered which have a peculiar bearing on the transportation of dangerous articles by *passenger* ships.

These laws were enacted in 1882 and amended in 1903, 1904 and 1908. Section 8 of 1882 reads as follows:

*"That it shall not be lawful to take, carry, or have on board of any such steamship or other vessel any nitro-glycerine, dynamite, or any other explosive article or compound, nor any vitriol or like acids, nor gunpowder, except for the ship's use, nor any article or number of articles, whether as cargo or ballast, which by REASON OF THE NATURE OR QUANTITY OR MODE OF STORAGE THEREOF, shall either singly or collectively, be LIKELY to endanger the health or the lives of the passengers or the safety of the vessel. * * * For every violation of any of the provisions of this section the master of the vessel shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined not exceeding one thousand dollars, and be imprisoned for a period not exceeding one year."*

By these same regulations a number of supervising inspectors are supposed to examine carefully the cargo of each passenger-carrying steamer. These inspectors are paid from $3,000 to $4,500 a year. Either they failed in their duty or else this cargo of dangerous explosive materials, highly inflammable, was marked falsely. Section 4476 covers this infringement. Quote 4476. Therefore if the inspection was to blame, then the shippers of this cargo are subject to a fine not exceeding $2,000, or an imprisonment not exceeding eighteen months, or both.

The Cunard Line must certainly have known the nature of this deadly cargo. So, no matter at whose door the ultimate blame is placed the officials of the Cunard Line were criminally negligent. Section 4499 covers the liability of the Cunard Line.

Quote 4499.

In order to be sure that the first regulation quoted above might not be misunderstood an additional regulation is here quoted: Section 4278.

"It shall not be lawful to transport, carry, or convey, ship, deliver on board, or cause to be delivered on board, the substance or article known or designated as nitro-glycerine, or glynoin oil, nitroleum or blasting oil, or nitrated oil, or powder mixed with any such oil, or fiber saturated with any such article or substance, upon or in any VESSEL or VEHICLE used or employed in transporting PASSENGERS by LAND or WATER between a place in any foreign country and a place within the limits of any State, Territory, or district of the United States, or between a place in one State, Territory, or district of the United States, and a place in any other State, Territory, or district thereof."

Some may say the *Lusitania* was an English ship, and hence not subject to American regulations. This is incorrect, for the crew and captain of any ship docking at an American port are subject to the shipping laws of America. The act covering this point reads: *"The master of a vessel coming to a port or place in the United States, in violation of any of the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor."*

The captain purposely fired only one torpedo with the intention of allowing the passengers time to escape in the boats. This torpedo would probably not have caused the sinking of so large a ship within a short time had not the explosion of the cargo torn out the whole bottom of the ship. Thus we see that the loss of life is not solely due to a German submarine on whom, however, the whole blame is laid.

Section 12 of this same Act reads:

*"That the provision of this act shall apply to every steamship or other vessel whereon emigrant passengers, or passengers other than cabin passengers, are taken on board at a port or place in the United States for conveyance to any port or place in a foreign country, * * * and the said collector of customs may direct an examination of the vessel to be*

*made by an inspector or other officer of the customs, who shall make the examination and report whether the provisions of this act have been complied with in respect to such vessel, and the said collector is authorized to withhold the clearance of such vessel until the coming in of such report; and if the said report shall show that any of the provisions of this act have not been complied with, THE COLLECTOR IS AUTHORIZED AND DIRECTED TO WITHHOLD THE CLEARANCE OF SUCH VESSEL until the said provisions are complied with; and if any such vessel leaves the aforesaid port or place without having been duly cleared by the collector of customs, the master shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and may be fined not exceeding one thousand dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding one year, and the vessel shall be liable to seizure and forfeiture. That the amount of the several fines and penalties imposed * * * shall be liens upon such vessel, and such vessel may be libeled therefore in any circuit or district court of the United States where such vessel shall arrive or depart."*

Was this not a case for the Collector of the Port of New York to withhold the clearance of the *Lusitania* until the provisions of this law had been complied with? Will this official be subject to a fine, and an imprisonment? Are not the officers of the boat equally culpable, and, according to the law, subject to fines or imprisonment? In addition, the owner of the boat, namely, the Cunard Line, is open to the charge of MANSLAUGHTER and subject to "confinement to hard labor" for ten years. Section 5344 covering this point reads:

*"Every captain, engineer, pilot, or other person employed on any steamboat or vessel, by whose misconduct, negligence, or inattention to his duties on such vessel the life of any person is destroyed, and every owner, charterer, inspector, or other public officer, through whose fraud, neglect, connivance, misconduct, or violation of law, the life of any person is destroyed, shall be deemed guilty of the felony of manslaughter, and upon conviction thereof, before any circuit court of the United States, shall be sentenced to pay a fine of not more than $10,000, or to confinement at hard labor for a period of not more than ten years, or either, or both: * * * any executive officer of such corporation, * * * who has knowingly and wilfully caused or allowed such fraud, neglect, connivance, misconduct, or violation of law, by which the life of any person is destroyed, shall be deemed guilty of the felony of manslaughter, and upon conviction thereof, before any circuit court of the United States, shall be sentenced to confinement at hard labor for a period of not more than ten years."*

But back of all these intermediary criminals rests the real criminal, who risked 2,000 lives. Sections 5353 and 5354 cover the case of this criminal exactly.

"Every person who knowingly transports, or delivers, or causes to

*be delivered, nitro-glycerine, nitroleum or blasting oil, or nitrated oil, or powder mixed with any such oil, or fiber saturated with any substance or article, on board any vessel or vehicle whatever, employed in conveying passengers by land or water between any place in a foreign country, and any place within the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not less than one thousand dollars nor more than ten thousand dollars; one-half to the use of the informer. When the death of any person is caused by the explosion of any quantity of such articles, or either of them, * * * every person who knowingly placed or aided, is guilty of manslaughter, and shall suffer imprisonment for a period not less than two years."*

Under these stringent regulations how was it possible for such a dangerous cargo to be carried upon a ship carrying cabin and steerage passengers? It is highly probable that if the articles quoted above had been enforced, there would have been no loss of life upon the *Lusitania.* A collision with another ship, the striking of a submerged rock, the possibility of internal combustion, the likelihood of fire on board the ship—a mere shock—might have caused an explosion and sunk the ship.

The investigation is in the hands of attorneys, and if it is possible to reach negligent customs officers or the officials of the Cunard Line, no means will be spared. If it is prohibitive to transport explosives on a passenger train because of its danger, it certainly is even more dangerous on a passenger ship. Many cities even allow only limited quantities of explosives transported through their streets. I am specially interested to learn whether any picric acid, toluol, etc., was loaded on the boat. If any reader has *positive* information of any shipments he is invited to correspond with the undersigned.

Whatever the outcome of the investigation and complaint may be, it is certain that the spirit of the law has been grossly offended. The Cunard Line stands even now as morally condemned.

FRANCIS J. L. DORL.

—*The Vital Issue* (N. Y.), May 29, 1915.

Say Torpedo Entered Hull.

Experts Inclined to Accept Turner Theory of Internal Explosion.

LONDON, Tuesday, May 11.—The idea of an internal explosion in the *Lusitania,* as suggested by Captain Turner's evidence at the Kinsale inquest, is supported by naval experts, who point out that if the torpedo had exploded on contact the steamer would have only been disabled or had one or two of her compartments flooded.

It is evident, however, they say, that if the torpedo penetrated the hull and the charge of 420 pounds of explosive was detonated it would have created an effect similar to the explosion of a magazine within a

ship. There is little wonder, therefore, they say, that the *Lusitania* sank so rapidly or that so many persons were killed by the fumes of the explosive.

Concerning the matter of sending convoys to guard merchantmen, naval observers are of the opinion that the use of destroyers for the protection of shipping is probably what the Germans are trying to force England to give, but they say that the Admiralty, having its eye first on the naval and military needs of the contry, will not divert its ships for other purposes.

Some members of the House of Commons, however, express the belief that a steamer that is particularly threatened with destruction should be especially protected, and the matter of convoys doubtless will be further discussed in Parliament.—*New York Times,,* May 11, 1915.

II.

English Orders to Fight Submarines

Liners Told to Ram U-Boats.

Takes Them from Class of "Unarmed and Unresisting Craft," Says Writer.

Editor Post:

It seems to the writer that classing the *Lusitania* as an unarmed and unresisting merchant vessel is unwarranted under the order of the British admiralty for British merchantmen to ram German submarines and the British offers of reward to any merchant vessel that would perform such service and the actual payment to "peaceful and unresisting merchantmen's" captains and crews to do such war service for the British nation.

How can our government clear, with clear conscience and without violation of neutrality, any British vessel from our ports when it knows that this order of the admiralty is still in effect and the offers of rewards still open to merchantmen that will ram submarines?

The captain of the *Baltic* and the captain of the *Transylvania* before leaving the port of New York with startling profanity expressed their determination to ram any submarines they might encounter, and emphasized their hopes that they would be fortunate enough to see them in order to destroy them.

Both of these vessels were cleared as peaceful and unresisting merchantmen by the collector of the port of New York.

The *Lusitania* was precisely in the same class, under the same flag, under the orders of the same British admiralty, with the rewards for sinking German submarines open to its captain as to those of the *Baltic,* the *Transylvania,* the *Adriatic,* the *Majestic,* the *Orduna* and all the other peaceful and unresisting merchantmen which the British admiralty controls. Does not this order and these offered rewards, these openly expressed promises of the commanders to sink submarines, remove British vessels from the class of peaceful and unresisting merchantmen?

How does the collector of the port of New York, the official representative of our government, see it his duty to clear vessels whose captains openly announce their determination to destroy German submarines?

Let our government be right, and then go ahead. It is better to start right, and then there is more chance of finishing in good shape.

NEUTRAL.

Washington, D. C., June 11, 1915.

—*Washington Post,* June 12, 1915.

English Treachery.

The *Weser Zeitung,* of Bremen, Germany, reports that Captain Duffy, of the American sailing vessel *Brynhilda,* with a cargo of cotton, has arrived in Bremen from New York. The captain declares that in the North Sea he was stopped by a British cruiser. The British commander sent a detail of armed marines and a large quantity of ammunition on board the *Brynhilda,* declaring that if the sailing ship was stopped by a German submarine the marines would shoot the German captain, and by perforating the tower of the submersible with bullets make it impossible to submerge. Captain Duffy protested and threatened to touch at a Norwegian port. Finally the British cruiser took him into Aberdeen, whence he was permitted to proceed for Bremen.

Maritime records show that the American sailing ship *Brynhilda,* Captain Duffy, left New York February 19th and arrived at Aberdeen March 14th. She sailed from Aberdeen March 26th for Bremen, and the next entry in the records describe her as having left Bremen April 13th for New York.—*The Crucible,* May 15, 1915.

England Has Armed Her Merchant Vessels.

(Translation of an article, regarding the English steamer *La Rosarina,* in the daily paper *La Union,* of Buenos Aires, of May 12, 1915. The article was illustrated by photographs showing the guns in question.)

THE ARTILLERY OF THE STEAMER LA ROSARINA.

On various occasions we have spoken of the new English custom of arming merchant vessels. We again spoke of the subject in an article published in our issue of yesterday. In the article entitled, "The Present Moment of the War," we said verbally:

" * * * Everybody knows that England has armed her merchant vessels. We have seen here in Buenos Aires with our own eyes the cannons aboard the *Darro.* We have seen photographs of the *Fallaba,* which showed various pieces of artillery. Last Saturday (May 8th) there arrived at our port the steamer *La Rosarina* which, according to

declarations made by her passengers, attacked on April 15th a German submarine, firing seven shots from her four guns of 70 millimeter caliber (about 3″)."

Since we are not accustomed to make unproven assertions, we have secured proof of our statement. To-day we have the satisfaction of offering to our readers two graphic documents which certainly will be sufficient to convince even the most incredulous of the truth of our assertions, since in the pictures reproduced herewith there can be seen with all clearness the formidable cannons which the English steamer *La Rosarina* has aboard, which steamer is tied up at pier 4 of our port, where all our readers can go to see for themselves.

It is well worth while to take a constitutional walk to the wharf to get ocular proof of what "English truth" is worth.—*The Fatherland,* June 30, 1915.

III.

The German Warnings.

A Blockade of England.

New German Threat.

AMSTERDAM, February 4th.

The *Telegraaf* learns that the *Reichsanzeiger* makes the following announcement in its official columns:

The waters round Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English Channel, are herewith proclaimed a war region.

On and after February 18th every enemy merchant vessel found in this war region will be destroyed without its always being possible to warn the crew or passengers of the dangers threatening.

Neutral ships will also incur danger in the war-region, where, in view of the misuse of neutral flags ordered by the British Government and incidents inevitable in sea warfare, attacks intended for hostile ships may affect neutral ships also.

The sea passage to the North of the Shetland Islands and the eastern region of the North Sea in a zone of at least 30 miles along the Netherlands coast is not menaced by any danger.

(Signed) Berlin, February 4th, Chief of Marine Staff, VON POHL.

The following notice accompanies the foregoing:

A document explanatory of the foregoing *communiqué* will be furnished to the neutral Powers and hostile States.—*London Times,* February 5 and 6, 1915.

Sails, Undisturbed By German Warning.

Lusitania Off with Her Passenger List of 1,388 Undiminished.

NO BOOKINGS CANCELED.

LINER DELAYED TO TAKE PASSENGERS OF CAMERONIA, WHICH WAS SUDDENLY CHARTERED BY ENGLAND.

The Cunarder *Lusitania* was delayed two and a half hours yesterday in sailing for Liverpool on account of having to take over the 163 passengers from the Anchor liner *Cameronia* which was chartered by the

British Admiralty three hours before she was due to sail for Glasgow.

The advertisement signed by the German Embassy which appeared in yesterday's newspapers warning Americans not to travel on British steamships across the Atlantic, because they ran the risk of being torpedoed, was commented upon by the passengers on the *Lusitania,* but did not cause any of them to cancel their bookings. On the contrary the big liner left at 12:30 o'clock with 1,388 passengers which was the largest number carried eastbound by one ship this year.

When the attention of Captain W. T. Turner, commander of the *Lusitania,* was called to the warning, he laughed and said: "I wonder what the Germans will do next. Well, it doesn't seem as if they had scared many people from going on the ship by the look of the pier and the passenger list."

The agents of the Cunard Line, who were on the ship until she sailed, said there was no truth in the printed reports that several prominent passengers had reecived anonymous telegrams warning them not to sail on the *Lusitania.* Charles T. Bowring, head of the firm of Bowring Bros., and President of the St. George's Society, who was a passenger, said that it was a silly performance for the German Embassy to do and below the dignity of a diplomatic representative of any foreign government.

Alexander Campbell, general manager for John Dewar & Sons, London, who was returning home after transfering his firm's business in this country to an agency, said: "I think it is a lot of tommy rot for any Government to do such a thing, and it is hard to believe that the German Ambassador dictated the advertisement. The *Lusitania* can run away from any submarine the Germans have got, and the British Admiralty will see that she is looked after when she arrives in striking distance of the Irish coast."

D. A. Thomas, the wealthy Welsh coal operator, who sailed on the *Lusitania,* accompanied by his daughter, Lady Mackworth, the English militant suffragette, said he was not worrying about the ship being attacked by submarines.

Charles Klein, the American playwright, told a *Times* reporter, who asked him about the warning in the newspapers, that he was going to devote his time on the voyage to thinking of his new play, "Potash & Perlmutter in Society" and others, and would not have time to worry about trifles.

Elbert Hubbard, the publisher of *The Philistine,* who sailed for Liverpool on the *Lusitania* with his wife, said he believed the German Emperor had ordered the advertisement to be placed in the newspapers and added jocosely, that if he was on board the liner when she was torpedoed he would be able to do the Kaiser justice in *The Philistine.*

Every precaution was taken yesterday at the pier to prevent any suspicious person from getting on board before she sailed. Each pas-

senger had to fall into line and claim his or her baggage. Any package or case, apart from the trunks and valises, had to be opened before it could be sent aboard. The passengers passed in single file by a desk where their tickets were examined by Cunard clerks, and detectives were stationed at the pier end of all the gangways.

Automobile trucks and taxicabs were sent to the Anchor Line pier, foot of West Twenty-fourth Street, to bring the *Cameronia's* passengers to the Cunard pier, foot of West Fourteenth Street, but as her sailing hour was noon it was some time before they could be got together with their baggage.

Alfred G. Vanderbilt, who was one of the last to go on board, said he was going over to spend three weeks in London to see his stable and look over some property he had there.—*New York Times,* May 2, 1915.

No Explanation at Embassy.

Said Informally that Warning Was Simply a Friendly Act.

WASHINGTON, May 1.—While no formal explanation was forthcoming from the German Embassy to-day in regard to the reason and purpose of the advertisement inserted in New York newspapers this morning by the Embassy, warning Americans not to take passage for Europe on vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or any of her allies, it was said there informally that the advertisement must be taken as an entirely friendly act on the part of the German Government. The advertisement, it was explained, merely supplemented and did not modify the German order establishing a war zone around the British Isles.

According to the Embassy, the advertisement was intended to call the war zone order to the attention of Americans who contemplated visiting Europe. The advertisement was inserted at this time, it was said, because the season of European travel was at hand and the German Government wanted to take every precaution to prevent the possible loss of American lives.

As to the reason for the course adopted of giving the notification through a newspaper advertisement instead of through formal notice to the State Department, it was said that this course was not unusual, as a precedent for it was found in the action of the German Embassy in inserting an advertisement in American newspapers at the outbreak of the European war, notifying German reservists in this country that they were called to the colors.

Secretary Bryan declined to comment on the German Embassy's advertisement further than to say that it had not been taken up for consideration by the State Department.—*Special to the New York Times,* May 2, 1915.

What the Lusitania Carried When She Sunk.

The main facts about the *Lusitania,* as they have been brought out at the official hearing in England and in various accredited statements, are as follows: The ship carried contraband of war.. In her manifest appear not only sheet blass, copper and copper wire in larger quantities, lubricating oil, motor cars and "military goods," but also 1,271 cases of "ammunition," 4,200 cases of "cartridges and ammunition," and eight packages of "drugs," which, according to the statement of a chemist in Pittsburgh, included 250,000 pounds of tetra-chloride, for the making of gas bombs. According to the statements of the Cunard Company officials, the item of 1,271 cases consisted of unloaded shrapnel shells, and the 4,200 cases were Remington cartridges for small arms, which, under the ruling of the courts, do not come under the classification of ammunition forbidden by law on a passenger ship. "There was no explosive of any sort aboard." In the first official statement issued in Berlin, the first words are: "The *Lusitania* was naturally armed with guns." In the dispatch from the German Foreign Office to the Embassy at Washington, it is stated that, according to the British Parliamentary Secretary, "practically all British merchant vessels were armed and provided with hand grenades." The Berlin *Tageblatt* is more specific. It declares that the *Lusitania* "carried armament of twelve strongly mounted guns." But according to the Cunard officials, the ship "*never* has been armed and never carried an unmounted gun or rifle out of port in times of war or peace." *This is confirmed* by Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port at New York. The ship was regularly inspected before sailing, he says, and she "sailed without any armament." While the *Lusitania* was subject at any time to use by the British Government as an auxiliary cruiser, there is no evidence, aside from the bare assertions in German papers, that she had actually been turned into an auxiliary. Before the ship sailed, the folowing notice was inserted in the New York papers:

NOTICE.

TRAVELLERS intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travellers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY.

Washington, D. C., April 22, 1915.

—*Current Opinion,* June, 1915.

IV.

The American Warnings.

Americans Warned Away.

Ambassador Page, at London, has issued a warning to Americans to stay away from England, unless they have urgent business, and advising Americans now in London to go home at once if they have no particular business to hold them.

What is the matter? Is the food supply running short, or is there a forthcoming scarcity of beer? Surely it cannot be that Americans are no longer welcome in England. It is reported that the stores and other business enterprises which depend upon American trade during the summer have resigned themselves to a practically complete loss of their business this year. This is serious, indeed, for the London tradesmen would not forego the receipt of American gold without a pang. No wonder they condemn the war.

Perhaps Ambassador Page is concerned for the safety of Americans on account of the Zeppelin raids. If he has received advance information that Count Zeppelin is about to visit London—just dropping in, as it were—it would be his duty to warn Americans away. Count Zeppelin is reported to be impatient over the slowness of some of his operatives. He is anxious to have his fleet visit London during the season. "See London first" appears to be his motto.

But, after all, Ambassador Page seems to be worried without reason. When Americans visit England they pay for everything they eat, and there is plenty of food to be had. American money is still accepted in London. The steamers are running as usual, in spite of submarine scares. If an American has money he need not be afraid to visit England. The average American who runs the gauntlet of British tradesmen need have no fear of war—he has met the worst.—*Washington Post,* April 22, 1915.

Warns Americans Away.

Page Tells Those in England to Go Home; Others, Keep Out.

LONDON, April 21.—Ambassador Walter H. Page has followed the example of the State Department and has issued a warning to all Ameri-

cans planning to visit England this summer to stay away, unless they have urgent business calling them here.

He has also advised all Americans now here, who haven't any particular reason for being here, to go home at once. Most of the stores and other enterprises in London which usually depend in great measure on American patronage during the summer, have resigned themselves to a practically complete loss of their business this year.—*Special Cable to The Washington Post,* April 23, 1915.

An Unhyphenated View.

(From the *New York Commercial.*)

Americans have been warned not to go to Europe, yet the Department of State has been deluged with applications for passports and even for special papers that would admit tourists within the zone of active military operations. The last straw was the request for passports and papers to enable some tourists to take photographs of battles. There seems to be no limit to the foolhardiness of some Americans. A young man of great wealth sailed on the *Lusitania* to look at some horses he owns in England and other passengers on the ill-fated ship went abroad for equally frivolous reasons. Our Government cannot stop them, but it has to shoulder the burden when they get into trouble. Like the Americans in Mexico, some of them will be asking the people of the United States to plunge into war for their sake. Why should we fight because an American wishes to see his stables in England or another American wishes to round up his cattle in Mexico? Both took known risks with open eyes and must again be told that he that loveth danger shall perish therein. Would some of these men volunteer for service in the ranks if we went to war?—*Gaelic American,* May 22, 1915.

V.

The Cunard Company's Warning.

Hobson's Cousin Warned.

Widow Told by Cunard Agent Not to Sail on "Lusitania," Because Under Admiralty Orders—Former Naval Officer Riddles British Contentions and Points Out Serious Error in President's Note to Germans.

The people are gradually getting the facts regarding the criminality of the Cunard Company in taking peaceful passengers on board an English floating arsenal acting under orders of the British Admiralty and going straight into the War Zone where it was known that German submarines were waiting to destroy her. Congressman Richard Pearson Hobson has given out a statement which shows that the Cunard Company fully realized the danger that passengers were incurring and also throws some needed light on the obligation of the submarine to give warning, about which the land lubbers talk through their hats and incidentally shows the serious mistake President Wilson has made in his note to Germany. Most of the papers cut out all the chief points but one, but the New York *Times* of May 15th gives the following fuller version:

A widowed cousin of Congressman Richmond Pearson Hobson of Alabama was warned secretly by an agent of the Cunard Line not to take passage on the *Lusitania,* because the vessel was under orders of the British Admiralty, according to a statement issued yesterday by Congressman Hobson through his brother-in-law, George H. Hull, Jr., 30 Pine Street.

From Torrington, Conn., Mr. Hobson telephoned the statement in which he attacked the British on the ground that they left the *Lusitania* open to submarine attack to embroil this country. He criticises this Government for failure to ascertain the facts by investigation through a naval court.

"A widowed cousin of mine applied at the New York office of the Cunard Line for passage on the *Lusitania,*" Congressman Hobson said. "The booking agent, an old friend, took her apart and told her that the vessel was acting under Admiralty orders and that she simply must not take passage on it. He pledged her to secrecy until after the trip. This fact brings up pertinent questions.

"Why did not the Cunard Company give to all parties applying for passage the same humane advice its agent, for old friendship's sake, gave to my cousin, instead of loading the vessel down with a full passenger list, including many distinguished Americans, whose loss would necessarily strike the American imagination?

"Knowing that German submarines were operating south of the Irish coast, why did not the British Admiralty, which controlled the *Lusitania's* movements, order her to use the uninfested route around the north of Ireland?

"Why was the ship, having a speed of twenty-five and a half knots—a very substantial aid to security—ordered by the British Admiralty to slow down to seventeen knots in the danger zone?

"How could a torpedo sink such a ship in twenty minutes? An elementary knowledge of naval architecture would convince any one that such a thing is impossible unless there was a contributing cause inside the vessel, such as open water-tight doors or inside explosion.

"Why was there no protecting convoy in the danger zone?

"Why was there no consort for the great ship's passengers' lives, ready for rescue work?

"Why was there no preparation along the shore? Why was rescue work so slow in reaching the scene?

"Why was it possible, in a smooth sea, within sight of land, in the middle of the day, to lose so many lives?

"Why was the censorship thrown open to all the harrowing details throughout the slow and inexplicable work of the recovery of the bodies, while secrecy was ordered for the Admiralty instructions, under which the ship proceeded to its doom?

"The President's note to Germany is firm and masterful, but its central demand of immunity of American lives on merchant vessels, assumed that these vessels will be unarmed and unresisting toward enemy war vessels and, in virtue of which non-resistance, international law gives them the right of immunity of life.

"The order of the British Admiralty, instructing British merchantmen to attack with the ram German submarines on sight, makes all the British merchant vessels armed and resisting toward German submarines and nullifies their claims in international law to warning and immunity of life from these submarines.

"Maintaining our position toward Germany, as defined by the President's note, without insisting on revocation of the British Admiralty's instruction, is equivalent to demanding that German submarines shall not attack British merchant vessels with American lives on board, while these British vessels are free to attack, and are under orders to attack, German submarines. So Great Britain could maintain a fleet of merchant vessels hunting and destroying German submarines with full immunity. The

submarine is the weapon of the gallant and weak against the strong, and cannot and should not be thus abolished.

"There could be no possible motive for Germany wishing to destroy American lives. In fact, Germany sought by extraordinary warning not to destroy American lives, and her commander torpedoed the vessel at a point nearest the shore, where it was presumable there would be ample time for the rescue of life.

"On the other hand, there is a full motive for England wishing such a tragedy—the motive for thrusting America into war with Germany. Our own self-respect and our position in history demand, at least, that we should find out the facts by regular, impartial investigation of a naval court. We could not condemn the basest criminal without a fair trial. We cannot pass judgment on a fellow Christian people simply from the charges of their enemy, given by a burning motive to embroil us in war.

"The American people are not afraid of Germany and her allies, nor are they afraid of England and her allies, but we are God-fearing people, afraid of His righteous wrath. We are not too proud to fight, but we are too brave and true knowingly to do wrong."—*Gaelic American* (*N. Y.*), May 22, 1915.

Says Take Neutral Ships

Danger Pointed Out for Those Which Carry Ammunition.

Editor Brooklyn Daily Eagle:

By to-day's papers, the fact that the *Lusitania* was laden with ammunition is denied.

However, a few weeks ago a friend of mine told me of an acquaintance who had intended taking that ship on her ill-fated trip, but was warned by an employee of the Cunard Line against doing so, on the ground that the vessel was laden with ammunition. If this were not a fact, why did the company not deny it sooner?

In Friday's *Times* it was openly announced that the *Adriatic* sailed with 296 passengers and a cargo of war supplies. Why do we not put a stop to this outrageous practice, instead of placing ourselves in a position we may regret? Are we trying to dare Germany?

Do we want to go to war, and lose thousands and thousands of our young men on account of a few citizens who tempted fate, instead of traveling on a neutral ship? Let us place ourselves above those barbarians on the other side, and show them what a Christian is by trying to make peace between them, instead of placing ourselves on their level and joining in their grewsome game. Let us keep our hands clean by refusing to allow anything which will prolong the war to leave our country. Let us

be worthy of the glorious bequest of our heroes of the Revolution, which was preserved by those who fought in the Civil War and whose memory we honor to-day. Lastly, let us teach the lesson of brotherly love, not only among those within a certain boundary, but among people at large.

AMALIE RUGER.

Brooklyn, May 31, 1915.

—*Brooklyn Daily Eagle.*

VI.

American Ruling (Not Law) on Foreign Armed Merchant Vessels.

Armed Vessels Enter American Harbors.

In this connection we can remind our readers that in the *Vital Issue,* Vol. I., Nos. 12 and 13, we stated that the British steamer *Adriatic* entered the port of New York in September with guns mounted on her deck. It was denied at the time, but it is now admitted. Strange it was to us that the Government allowed the boat to leave the port with these guns. The British steamer *Merion,* carrying passengers from San Francisco, was a similar case, and since then the State Department issued a memorandum to port officials according to which merchant vessels of belligerant nations are *allowed to carry guns and ammunition.*

The Rules as laid down on September 20th by the State Department read as follows:

"A—A merchant vessel of a belligerent nationality may carry an armament and ammunition for the sole purpose of defense without acquiring the character of a ship of war.

"B—The presence of an armament and ammunition on board a merchant vessel creates a presumption that the armament is for offensive purposes, but the owners or agents may overcome this presumption by evidence showing that the vessel carries armament solely for defense.

"C—Evidence necessary to establish the fact that the armament is solely for defense and will not be used offensively, whether the armament be mounted or stowed below, must be presented in each case independently at an official investigation. The result of the investigation must show conclusively that the armament is not intended for, and will not be used in offensive operations.

"Indications that the armament will not be used offensively are:

"1. That the calibre of the guns carried does not exceed six inches.

"2. That the guns and small arms carried are few in number.

"3. That no guns are mounted on the forward part of the vessel.

"4. That the quantity of ammunition carried is small.

"5. That the vessel is manned by its usual crew and the officers are the same as those on board before war was declared.

"6. That the vessel intends to and actually does clear for a port lying in its usual trade route, or a port indicating its purpose to continue in the same trade in which it was engaged before war was declared.

"7. That the vessel takes on board fuel and supplies sufficient only to carry it to its port of destination, or the same quantity substantially which it is accustomed to take for a voyage before war was declared.

"8. That the cargo of the vessel contains articles of commerce unsuited for the use of a ship of war in operation against an enemy.

"9. That the vessel carries passengers who are, as a whole, unfitted to enter the military service of the belligerent whose flag the vessel flies, or any of its allies, and particularly if the passenger list includes women and children."—*Vital Issue,* June 12, 1915.

VII.

Was the Lusitania Armed?

The Arming of Merchantmen and Liners.

In their report to the shareholders the directors of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company state that the immunity from attack which the company's mail and passenger vessels enjoyed during the raids on British shipping carried on by the enemy's cruisers in the South Atlantic has been in a large measure due to the fact that, a year or two before the war broke out, nearly all the "A" and "D" steamers were armed with guns for the purpose of self-defence.—*London Times,* May 4, 1915.

Sank Lusitania Because She Was Armed, Says Germany; Cites Warnings to Americans.

BERLIN (via wireless to London), Sunday, May 9.—The following *official communication* was issued to-night:

The Cunard liner Lusitania was yesterday torpedoed by a German submarine and sank.

The *Lusitania* was *naturally armed with guns,* as were recently most of the English merchantile steamers. Moreover, as is well known here, she had large quantities of war material in her cargo.

Her owners, therefore, knew to what danger the passengers were exposed. They alone bear all the responsibility for what has happened.

Germany, on her part, left nothing undone to repeatedly and strongly warn them. The Imperial Ambassador in Washington even went so far as to make a public warning, so as to draw attention to this danger. The English press sneered at the warning and relied on the protection of the British fleet to safeguard Atlantic traffic.—*New York Times,* May 9, 1915.

Was The Lusitania Armed?

There is at present a great deal of discussion whether the ill-fated *Lusitania* carried guns or not. Sworn affidavits by various men have been published that they had seen guns, but certain Anglomaniac newspapers have seen fit to proclaim these documents as untrue, merely because they

were signed by men with German names. As far as we are concerned, we prefer the word of a German to the statement of a newspaper in English pay.

We have no knowledge of our own whether the *Lusitania* carried guns, but in this connection it might be timely to remind the public of certain facts: Months ago the First Lord of the Admiralty issued a statement that merchant ships should ram submarines or destroy them by the best means at their disposal. Furthermore, prizes were to be given to those vessels which proved to have sunk a submarine. Since then one of these prizes (£1,000 we believe) has been awarded to a captain. It is also understood that instructions were issued that merchant vessels should be armed.—*Vital Issue,* May, 1915.

The Lusitania's Real Status.

Whatever action President Wilson will finally take in regard to the sinking of the *Lusitania,* no matter what his wishes may be, must be governed by the legal status of the vessel and all the circumstances surrounding her destruction. This will not be determined by the clamor of the newspapers which hold a brief for England, or the contentions of the British Government, or even necessarily by the view of the able legal advisers of the State Department. The English contention will have to be considered, and it goes without saying that the President is strongly predisposed in favor of England. But there is also a German contention of which little or nothing has been heard in the outcry raised by the Anglomaniac newspapers. This outcry is confined exclusively to an effort to demonstrate that Germany has deliberately murdered a number of American citizens. The German contention must be given full weight and the case will be stripped of the atmosphere of passion and sentiment with which it has been attempted to surround it.

The question whether the *Lusitania* carried guns or not has yet to be decided, but that she carried rifles for use against submarines is admitted by the Cunard Company. Probably there were concealed guns in her hold, but the possession of rifles for use against an enemy made her an armed vessel.

What rights had the British ship in the war which is now raging and what rights in regard to her had the German Government? That question is not decided by the statement that she was a passenger steamship with a number of American citizens on board. She was something else than a passenger ship, although she carried a large number of peaceful people. She carried munitions of war and English reservists on their way to the seat of war, as other merchant ships have done, but her character and status was very different from some of those other vessels.

The *Lusitania* was the property of the British Government, was in its absolute control, subject to its orders, which were given directly to her Captain on her last fatal voyage, as on all her other trips since the war began. In ordinary times the British Government exercised its control over her through a holding company—a method familiar to American corporations, including some well-known newspapers. The holding company in this case was the Cunard Steamship Company. But the facts when brought out will show conclusively that the British Government was the real owner and the Cunard Company only the agent. The Cunard Steamship Company has been practically a British Government agency since its foundation, and very large sums of money have been paid to it out of the public treasury.

The British Government built the *Lusitania* and her sister ship, the *Mauretania,* using the Cunard Company as its agent in the work. The British Government supplied all the money for the construction; the Cunard Company did not spend any money in the work but the money it received from the British Government for that purpose. But a legal fiction was used in the transaction. The British Government lent to the Cunard Steamship Company $13,000,000 for the purpose of constructing the *Lusitania* and the *Mauretania,* on which the company agreed to pay 2¾ per cent. interest. This was the Government's share of the profits made on the earnings of the steamers: the Cunard Company got the rest. The loan is really never to be repaid. The Government reserved to itself the right to take the vessels for auxiliary cruisers of the British navy at any time when it needed them.

The *Mauretania* was actually taken by the Government for war service at the outbreak of hostilities, but has recently been returned to the service of the Cunard Company. It was announced on Friday, May 7th, that the *Mauretania,* which, while in the Government's war service was commanded by Captain Turner, who had charge of the *Lusitania* when she was sunk, was to join the *Lusitania* in transatlantic service. Captain Dow of Kinsale, who had hoisted the American flag on the *Lusitania,* was set aside and Captain Turner, an Englishman, took his place.

All the Cunard steamships bear the same relation to the British Government as the *Lusitania* and the *Mauretania.* The new Cunarder, the *Aquitania*—a larger ship than any of the others—was taken by the Government as a transport at the outbreak of the war. The *Cameronia,* another Cunard vessel, was commandeered by the British Government at a New York pier at the very time the *Lusitania* sailed on her last trip, and two or three hundred people who had taken passage on her were transferred to the *Lusitania* and many of them went down. The *Caronia,* also commandeered at the outbreak of the war, has been doing patrol duty as an armed cruiser, outside New York harbor, but a few days ago came in again as an innocent merchant ship. She can be a warship to-day and

a peaceful commerce carrier to-morrow, according to the will and the needs of the British Government.

The ownership of the *Lusitania* by the British Government, the Cunard Steamship Company acting as its agent, cannot, therefore, be successfully challenged. The owners of a ship are responsible for the ship's conduct and management. The fact that he received orders from the British Admiralty and was under its orders from the moment he sailed from New York, was admitted by Captain Turner in his sworn testimony at the Coroner's inquest at Kinsale. The ship's manifest proves that the chief purpose of the *Lusitania's* voyage was the transport of military supplies for the use of the British army at the front, or of material for the manufacture of such supplies in England. She was therefore to all intents and purposes an English Government transport, and the carrying of passengers was a secondary consideration—part of the method of making the ship pay expenses. The other purpose of the British Government and its agent, the Cunard Company, in putting passengers on board was obvious. It was for the ship's protection. It might deter the Germans from attacking, and if they did attack, it would enable the British to do just what they have done—to raise the cry of inhumanity and to give the United States a grievance that might be turned into a *casus belli* against Germany.

As the British Admiralty regulated by wireless orders the course and speed of the *Lusitania,* it is wholly responsible for placing the vessel, going slowly, at the exact spot where it knew that German submarines were lurking and near which they had sunk two British ships within a few days. And it did this with full knowledge of the fact that the German Government had given wide publicity to special warnings to American travellers not to sail on the *Lusitania.* Whether it was incompetency or recklessness, or a purpose to make a pretext for bringing the United States into the war, the result was the same: the British Admiralty deliberately brought the *Lusitania* to the spot where she had no reasonable chance of escape from destruction.

Having brought the *Lusitania* to the point where her destruction was morally certain, what precautions did her owners take to give her passengers a chance for their lives? There were no torpedo boat destroyers to protect her or to aid in the work of rescue in case she was sunk. The story of the disaster, especially as told by competent American survivors, is a revelation of incompetency, gross neglect and lack of discipline. Many of the lifeboats, which should have been ready for instant use, were so placed that using them was an impossibility. The life belts were insufficient in number and many of them were hidden out of sight. Several of the collapsible lifeboats had numerous holes in them and were wholly unseaworthy. The Captain who had all these lives in his charge, did not realize the danger to his ship and passengers until it was too late. The

man in command was unfit to command. After his vessel had been hit by a torpedo he sent some of his men to reassure the passengers by telling them there was no danger. The cable despatches admitted that this caused many to neglect to seek safety. But, worst of all, the conduct of the crew was disgraceful. As in the case of the *Titanic,* the proportion of the crew saved was as high as the proportion of women and children lost. The newspapers which reap a rich harvest of advertising from the English steamship companies, as usual, and before they knew the facts, described the "heroism," "calmness" and "perfect discipline" of the crew, but the cold facts told by survivors belie this wholly undeserved praise. There were 302 members of the crew saved and only 405 passengers. This is a horrible record of cowardice and selfishness, instead of the glorious record of heroism and perfect discipline of which the New York daily papers boasted. And the owners of the vessel and their agents who hired the crew and the British Admiralty which directed the movements of the ship are responsible for it all. They loaded one of their war transports with passengers and sent them to certain death.

President Wilson and his advisers must take these facts into account in whatever action they may decide upon. And it is the real American people, not the New York Anglomaniac newspapers, who will be the final judges.—*Gaelic American,* May 15, 1915.

Four Guns on Lusitania.

NEW YORK, June 2.—A Washington dispatch to the *New York American* says:

The State Department has received four affidavits stating that when the *Lusitania* sailed on her last voyage she was armed with four guns of "good size"—two mounted forward and two mounted aft. According to the affidavits, they were mounted on an upper deck.

Three affidavits are from persons who say they were told by a passenger just before the *Lusitania* sailed that he had seen the guns. The passenger, an American, was saved. The fourth affidavit is from a man who says he saw the guns.

SAYS "FURS" WERE GUNCOTTON.

It was learned from a State Department official that seven other affidavits questioning the *Lusitania's* manifest have been received.

In the manifest appeared this item: "Furs, 349 packages, valued at $119,220, consigned to Liverpool."

It was said to-day that an affidavit would be submitted by a person connected with the firm making the shipment that the packages contained guncotton. Evidence is expected, also, that the *Lusitania's* cargo contained acids used in the manufacture of explosives.

The State Department does not expect a charge that the Cunard Steamship Company made a false manifest. It is taken for granted that the steamship company was not responsible, as it proceeds on the sworn statement of the shippers that the packages contain the merchandise described by them.—*Special to the Washington Post,* June 3, 1915.

Letter in London *Times* Says Passenger Boats Are Armed.

The fact that Great Britain is arming merchant ships and passenger carrying vessels with the purpose of destroying German submarines, although by so doing such vessels become technically men-of-war and both passengers and cargoes are thus deprived of the protection afforded them by merely being peaceful vessels, subject only to capture after warning and not to summary destruction, according to the rules of war, has been demonstrated time and time again. A dispatch to the Cologne *Gazette* quotes the following letter from the *London Times:*

"To the Editor of the Times:

"Sir—I landed at Tilbury on Sunday from a White Star steamer which brought me from Tenerife. Coming up the Channel there was little to give the idea that a great war was being waged. We saw a few destroyers and gunboats and mine sweepers in the distance. Our 300 passengers were perfectly calm. We knew that every prudent precaution had been taken. The captain, while he said he had no wish to see a submarine, added:

" 'I am not going if attacked to take our fate lying down. We have two 4.7 guns on the poop served by a trained crew. We have a strong prow, and I can maneuver my ship very rapidly, and I think if we are attacked it will be worse for the submarine, and if we are torpedoed I calculate that our water tight compartments and our cargo will keep us afloat some hours at least and enable us to get into a place of safety.'

"My object in writing this letter is to urge that our cross Channel steamers and our liners should be armed with guns fore and aft. The submarinist fears nothing so much as a gun. He knows that his craft is very frail. As he ranges himself up alongside a ship, as he must do to fire his torpedo, he must present an excellent target, and the chances are that if the ship attacked is armed the submarine will be sunk.

'Yours, etc., WILLIAM B. FORWOOD.

"Bromborough Hall, April 13th."

—*Redford Sun,* June 3, 1915.

Say "Orduna" Escaped from Warship by Firing Shrapnel.

Editor Post:

The *Orduna,* according to witnesses, "opened fire with shrapnel," and escaped from a German vessel of war. Did not the *San Francisco* and the *Adriatic* sail from New York with mounted guns, and did not the latter enter at once into her duties as a British cruiser?

Will the *Post* not publish the order of the State Department to port officials, September 20, 1914, in which is ordered: "A merchant vessel of a belligerent nationality may carry an armament and ammunition * * *" Among the requirements for this merchant vessel is this: "That the caliber of the guns does not exceed 6 inches."

The press of New York and other cities urges war because Americans were sunk on the unarmed British steamer *Lusitania.* One former President urges war for a like reason, and also denounces treaties of the United States, "the supreme law of the land," and asks that they be disregarded. Submarines, in "knock-down" shape, but complete, are shipped to a belligerent nation.

As I have a real interest in the peace and welfare of my country, may I not ask by what right may the provisions of the law and Constitution be disregarded by any person or corporation of this country?

As eminent gentlemen and women of America urge a navy and army of gigantic size for defense, may an old woman ask what and whom they fear? Have we disregarded the wise advice of Washington and entered into entangling alliances?

MARTHA ABERCROMBIE.
—Washington Post.

The Lusitania Was An Armed British Ship.

She Had Carried Guns from June, 1913, and Her Armament Was Described by the New York "Tribune" Which Now Assails Germany for Attacking an "Unarmed Merchantman"—Hundreds of Men Knew She Was Armed, and an Honest Inspection Would Have Disclosed the Fact—Was in the British Government's Service Carrying War Supplies to England's Fighting Forces Under Admiralty Orders, at the Time She Was Sunk—All Cunard Steamers Armed.

The *Lusitania* was an armed British ship.

That fact was publicly stated and known to be true in America long before it was asserted in the German reply to President Wilson's Note. Among those who said it and knew it to be true are some of the news-

papers which now say it is not true and which call the Germans liars for saying it. It is the newspapers that are lying. And they are lying to help England, not to help the American case or to promote any American interest.

It is not alone a fact that the *Lusitania* was armed, but it is a notorious fact, known to hundreds of men who work along West Street, and to everyone who is familiar with shipping conditions in New York. The place where the guns were located, how they were concealed and all other details were known and reported previous to her third last trip. She had those guns on board when Captain Dow was in charge of her and she put up the American flag off Queenstown to save herself from a German submarine and to endeavor to get the United States into trouble with Germany. Those guns were kept on board and were on the vessel when the German submarine sank her.

The *Lusitania* was armed in June, 1913, and one of the New York daily papers which is now abusing Germany for attacking an "unarmed ship" made the description of her armament a feature of its news at the time. That paper now says it is not true that the *Lusitania* was an armed vessel, but its own news article, published on June 19, 1913, is there to confound it and to prove its own bad faith.

NO REAL EXAMINATION MADE.

Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port of New York, in his eagerness to render a service to the British Government, rushed into print before the President had time to say a word, and assured the public that the *Lusitania* was not armed; that his men inspected her before she sailed and found no guns. They were either very accommodating inspectors, or had very bad sight and a poor sense of touch, or did not want to see what every longshoreman who had worked on the vessel and every sailor who had sailed on her knows to be a fact. And every other Cunarder also carries guns.

This statement of Mr. Malone was published in every daily and evening paper in New York, in order to influence the action of the President , not with a view to help him to obtain redress for the loss of American lives, but to strengthen him in that portion of his demand which he had no right to make—the cessation of submarine warfare on English shipping. It is said that Mr. Malone denies that he made such a statement, but if he did not make it he ought to compel every newspaper in New York which said he made it to publish the denial. He has not done so, and therefore he must be held responsible for undertaking to speak for the United States before his superiors in Washington had time to examine the German document. His reports as to the work of his subordinates should be made to those superiors in Washington, not to the

Anglomaniac papers in New York to help them in their campaign against Germany.

BRITISH ADMIRALTY PROVIDED THE GUNS.

The Cunard officials say in the newspapers that when one of the company's steamers is called into the naval service of the British Government as an auxiliary cruiser she has to go to her "home port" before being armed. That statement is proved to be false by the fact that the Cunard vessels which were in the port of New York at the outbreak of the war simply steamed outside the harbor, exposed the guns which were already on board and at once commenced patrol duty as part of the British fleet. There was no necessity to go to Liverpool to get the guns. They were already on board, as well as a supply of ammunition.

The British Admiralty is the most thoroughgoing, businesslike and efficient institution in England, and it would be ridiculous to suppose that it would make such a foolish arrangement as having an auxiliary cruiser cross and recross the Atlantic on the outbreak of war in order to get her guns and ammunition, subject to the chance of being caught by an enemy warship. It made no such arrangement. It provided all steamers liable to be called as auxiliary cruisers with guns beforehand, so that they could be ready for service at a few hours' notice. The Admiralty had the British fleet mobilized before the war started, ready for instant action. The Admiralty knew the war was coming and was ready for it. The Germans did not know it was coming, and hence their great commercial ships were taken unawares in foreign ports or on the high seas, and the Ambassador to the United States was at home in Germany.

WAS THE "CARONIA" EXAMINED?

Did Collector Malone send his men to inspect the *Caronia* before she left this port for patrol duty outside the harbor and find that she carried no guns? And if so, where did she get the guns which she immediately mounted for the work of holding up all vessels coming into and leaving the port of New York? Mr. Malone had better tell that story of the inspection of the *Lusitania* to the marines? No sensible man who knows conditions in New York will believe it.

THE "LUSITANIA" IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

The *Lusitania* was an auxiliary cruiser of the British navy. That statement was made here in America by American citizens before the German Foreign Office replied to President Wilson's Note, and the statement is true. She was built by the Cunard Company with money furnished by the British Government on the express condition that she could be taken over by the Government whenever the Government required her

services. She was doing Government service at the time she was sunk and was under the orders of the British Admiralty from the moment she left New York. She was a British transport carrying war supplies and men for England's fighting forces. The fact that she also carried peaceful passengers in order to make money for her owners and as a shield against attack, does not alter her status in the least. It only emphasises the reckless inhumanity of her owners. The assertion that she had a quantity of high explosives on board, as well as ammunition, is made highly probable by the second explosion which took place after she was hit by the torpedo.

The fact in regard to the actual status of the *Lusitania* must be established before the case can be settled. The assertions of the organs of England in the New York press regarding that status are all false and will be demonstrated to be false if a proper inquiry is made. It is to prevent such an inquiry that these papers are howling now. They want the Government of the United States to act on their false statements, made in the interests of England, not on the ascertained and authenticated facts. Governments cannot act on newspaper clamor, and the American people want their Government to safeguard and protect American interests, not English interests. These newspapers want the Washington Government to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for England, and they quote as international lawyers of high standing men who are notoriously in the pay of or receiving fees from the Governments of England, France or Russia. The business of these lawyers in this case is to make the Government of the United States help them to earn their money by doing what England wants.

A man very close to the Administration said to a friend a few days ago that "the English moneyed interests in this country were *absolutely at Wilson's throat to get him to save England.*" That is "the milk in the cocoanut." President Wilson has a right to demand redress for the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania.* He has no right to demand the cessation of Germany's submarine warfare on English commerce. Yet that demand is what the papers working for England here unite in calling the "main contention" in the American Note. They want to save England, and they don't care an English brass farthing about American rights.

The description of the arming of the *Lusitania,* taken from the New York *Tribune* of June 19, 1913, will be found below. It is conclusive evidence, for the *Tribune* is the chief English organ in America and prides itself on the accuracy of its news.

"LUSITANIA" ARMED IN 1913.

(From the New York *Tribune,* June 19, 1913.)

The reason why the crack liner *Lusitania* is so long delayed at

Liverpool has been announced to be because her turbine engines are being completely replaced, but Cunard officials acknowledged to the *Tribune* correspondent to-day that the greyhound is being equipped with high power naval rifles in conformity with England's new policy of arming passenger boats. So when the great ship, the third selected by the Government for armament, next appears in New York Harbor about the end of August she will be the first British merchantman for more than a century sailing up the Lower Bay with black guns bristling over her sides.

The *Lusitania,* which will be an almost invaluable addition to England's merchant fleet, because not only is she so fast but of such great capacity for the carrying of troops, was originally built with her decks adapted for rifles, and the task of installing the battle guns will be comparatively easy.

It is very probable that immediately the tourist season is ending the *Mauretania* will be called to Liverpool, overhauled and equipped with guns. The British Government is hastening the task of creating an armed fleet under the red ensign. A mailboat running to South America now carries rifles, and to-morrow the Aberdeen liner *Themistocles* sails out of the Thames bound for Australia equipped with the newest type of guns.

CUNARD COMPANY A GOVERNMENT CONCERN.

The Cunard Steamship Company itself is practically a British Government concern. It has subsisted mainly by Government help and has been built up on subsidies. Its two finest ships, the *Lusitania* and the *Mauretania,* were built with Government money and the British Government was the real owner, the Cunard Company being a mere holding company. The Government advanced to the Cunard Company a loan of $13,000,000 payable in twenty years, at an interest of 2¾ per cent., to build these two vessels. The Government, besides, paid to the Cunard Company a subsidy of $340,000 a year for carrying the mails from Liverpool and Queenstown to New York, and another $750,000 a year for the consideration that the company's vessels should be available as auxiliary cruisers of the British navy in case of war.

The *Lusitania* was in the service of the British Government at the time she was sunk, and she was armed.—*Gaelic American* (*N. Y.*), June 5, 1915.

Says England Seeks to Embroil Us in Big War.

Editor Post:

There is no reason why our difficulties with Germany cannot be amicably settled. She has a right to demand a thorough investigation of the circumstances surrounding the *Lusitania* and other disasters. The

facts, and all of them, should be taken into consideration, and it can be plainly seen from her decision in the *Gullflight* matter that it is her intent and wish to deal with us in an honorably satisfactory way.

What about England? Are we going to remain silent while she is carrying on her piratical course against our merchant marine? While calling Germany to account, why not also demand of England reparation and apology and an assurance of a discontinuance of her present conduct to us.

England, it would seem, has about exhausted her treacherous resources in her efforts to involve this nation in the present European war, which, of course, would mean that England's battle would be fought at our expense. England is a joke!

JOSEPH ADKINS, JR.

—*Washington Post,* June 7, 1915.

The Arming of the Lusitania.

As a consideration as to whether the *Lusitania* was armed or not, the following article of the *N. Y. Tribune* of June 19, 1913, might serve:

"The reason why the crack liner *Lusitania* is so long delayed at Liverpool has been announced to be because her turbine engines are being completely replaced, but Cunard officials acknowledged to the *Tribune* correspondent to-day that the greyhound is being equipped with high power naval rifles in conformity with England's new policy of arming passenger boats. So when the great ship, the third selected by the Government for armament, next appears in New York Harbor about the end of August, she will be the first British merchantman for more than a century sailing up the Lower Bay with black guns bristling over her sides.

"The *Lusitania,* which will be an almost invaluable addition to England's merchant fleet, because not only is she so fast but of such great capacity for the carrying of troops, was originally built with her decks adapted for rifles, and the task of installing the battle guns will be comparatively easy.

"It is very probable that immediately the tourist season is ended the *Mauretania* will be called to Liverpool, overhauled and equipped with guns. The British Government is hastening the task of creating an armed fleet under the red ensign. A mailboat running to South America now carries rifles, and to-morrow the Aberdeen liner *Themistocles* sails out of the Thames bound for Australia equipped with the newest type of guns."

The self-same Anglomaniac *Tribune now* calls the *Lusitania unarmed.*—*Vital Issue,* June 12, 1915.

Saw Guns, Says Pastor.

Lusitania Affidavit Made by German Clergyman of Jersey City.

NEW YORK, June 16.—Despite strenuous efforts on the part of German officials to keep the names of reputable Germans out of the *Lusitania* affidavit scandal, it became known to-day that Dr. Henry Brueckner, superintendent of the German Seamen's Home in Hoboken, had filed an affidavit with the German Ambassador, in which he swore he saw several guns aboard the *Lusitania* before she sailed on her last trip.

Dr. Brueckner is also pastor of St. Matthews' German Evangelical Church in Hoboken, and has a large following among Germans in Hudson county and New York.—*Special to the Washington Post,* June 17, 1915.

The Lusitania's Armament of Twelve Six-Inch Guns.

By FRANK KOESTER, Consulting Engineer.

(*This article was written especially for* THE FATHERLAND *and reflects the opinion of an expert on the subject. Mr. Frank Koester, who is a well-known engineer and writer, made this particular study of the armament of the "Lusitania" for the readers of* THE FATHERLAND *and for the benefit of those at Washington who have been misled by false reports and misrepresentations.*)

The great power possessed by the *Lusitania* as a war vessel is but little understood by the public. In the discussions in the press, the mounting of guns has been referred to as if they were a few quick-firing rifles, the general impression conveyed being that the *Lusitania,* if armed at all, was only armed with a few light guns such as would serve to repel a landing party in small boats or damage the periscope of a submarine.

The *Lusitania,* however, if the contention of the German Government be correct, was armed with twelve quick-firing cannons of six-inch calibre, firing projectiles capable of penetrating six inches of steel armor plate at three thousand yards range, and having a muzzle energy of over 5,000 foot tons.

The contention of the German Government is based upon the contract closed in 1903 between the British Government and the Cunard Company which provided for the mounting of the twelve guns described, as will be seen from the contract, as published in *Engineering* of London in 1907, hereinafter referred to.

With six of these guns on either side it will be seen that the *Lusitania* could deliver a broadside that would be capable of sinking any pro-

tected cruiser afloat, and if she find herself in close quarters in a struggle even with a dreadnaught she could undoubtedly fire several effective rounds before being sunk.

With her heavy armament she was a dangerous opponent for any war vessel, and owing to her high speed, certainly the equal of any cruiser that did not mount guns of larger calibre.

As a commerce destroyer, had she been so employed, she would have been the most dangerous war vessel of the British navy.

Even at 5,000 yards her guns were capable of penetrating 4½ inches of steel armor, and a submarine's shell is less than an inch thick and the range of its torpedoes is usually much less than five thousand yards.

Upon this formidable war vessel the British Government loaded large quantities of ammunition and sought to armor her with American passengers. Probably had the passengers known of the true character of the vessel and the nature of her cargo they would have been less ready to take passage upon this first cousin to a dreadnaught.

As an evidence of the armament of the *Lusitania* the accompanying illustration shows part of the plan of the shelter deck of the ship and indicates the exact positions of four of the forward guns. The drawing is reproduced from an authoritative source, the British weekly *Engineering,* of London, in the issue of August 2, 1907. (It was reprinted by that journal in its issue of May 14th, last.—Ed.)

Engineering is regarded as the foremost journal published in the English language on the subject of marine engineering, shipbuilding and the like, and is of a semi-official nature, publishing from time to time the specifications and contracts for the building of the British battleships and merchant marine auxiliary cruisers, of which the *Lusitania* was one.

The working drawings and plans of the *Lusitania,* as published in this London periodical eight years ago, plainly show the number and location of the twelve heavy guns of the vessel, which are marked as 6″ Q. F. guns (six-inch quick-firing guns). The drawings are true to scale, being reproduced from working drawings.

Four of these guns are located on either side of the vessel, on the shelter deck, beneath the promenade deck, and two are on either side of the promenade deck, forward of the promenade, among the hoisting machinery. In all cases the locations of the guns are such that they would not be readily visible to the passengers, who might easily suppose that they were on an unarmed ship,

The guns are on pivoted mountings, which enable them to be withdrawn from view. The drawings show the guns in position for firing.

The drawings also show the magazine room for the storage of ammunition, which is near the bow and well below the water-line.

In *Engineering* for August 2, 1907, the issue just mentioned, when the *Lusitania* first came into commission, the progress of Germany was

discussed and the necessity for action by the British Government shown. In that issue there appeared a 42-page description of the vessel, and in addition numerous reproductions of working drawings and plans of the ship proper. Under the sub-heading

"GOVERNMENT AND CUNARD LINE ARGEEMENT, MAIL AND WAR-SERVICE SUBSIDY"

appeared the following:

"It was, therefore, a matter of keen satisfaction when Mr. Balfour's Government, in 1903, after long consideration and negotiation, entered into an agreement with the Cunard Company, in order that the latter should be maintained as a British institution with fast ships available at all times for war service. Under this agreement the Government provided a sum sufficient to pay for the new vessels, not exceeding 2,600,000 pounds sterling, secured on debentures at 2¾ per cent. interest, while in addition 150,000 pounds sterling was to be paid per annum on condition that the Company would cause to be built, in the United Kingdom, two steamships of large size, capable of maintaining the minimum average ocean speed of 24½ knots in moderate weather.

"These two ships, in addition to carrying the mails and maintaining the prestige of Britain—which we regard as a very important commercial asset—are to be at the service of the Government in the event of war.

"While carrying on business to the best advantage, the Company agrees * * * *facilities are to be given for periodical inspection by the Admirality, and for storing guns, ammunition, etc., at the ports* * * * *The Government is always to have the right of hiring the boats,* the rates for such being: for vessels over 22 knots, 25 shillings per gross register ton per month, and 5 shillings more if the Company provide officers and crew.

"In addition to holding the ships at the service of the Government, it has been prescribed in the agreement that all the officers and three-quarters of the crew shall be British subjects, and that a large proportion shall belong to the Royal Naval Reserve. The ships are thus to be utilized as a great training school for British officers and seamen, and each month a record is to be made of the personnel with this point in view.

"One important feature dealt with the fixing the design had reference to the use of the ships as cruisers and reproduced on plate XXV, show that the machinery—which is almost entirely under the water-line—has been so disposed in seperate compartments, and with coal protection along each side, as to counteract, as far as possible, the effect of the enemy's fire at the water-line. *FOR PURPOSE OF ATTACK the Lusitania will be provided with an armament as satisfactory as the armored*

cruisers of the County class, because on one of the topmost decks there will be carried, within the shelter of the heavy steel plating, four 6 inch quick-firing guns, attaining a muzzle energy of over 5,000 foot tons, while on the promenade deck on each side there will be four more guns on central pivot mountings, also able to penetrate 4¾ inch armor at 5,000 yards range, and 6 inch armor at 3,000 yards range.

"With the great speed, which can be maintained for three or four times the period that any modern cruiser can steam even at only 21 knots, and with the careful subdivision for protection and their satisfactory offensive power, the *Lusitania* and her consort may be regarded as most effective additions to any fighting squadron. Their advent is, therefore, a great advantage from the point of view of British sea power."

It will be observed that the ship, being inspected periodically by the Admiralty, and having a large proportion of its crew members of the National Reserve, was at all times ready for active service.

As a peaceful merchant vessel it will be seen that the *Lusitania* was a somewhat bristling proposition.

This fact was recognized as long as two years ago, when the New York *Tribune* called attention to the fact that the *Lusitania* "will be the first British merchantman for more than a century sailing up the Lower Bay with black guns bristling over her sides."

In its issue of June 19, 1913, the *Tribune* published the following article, which between the lines indicates a certain hostility to the British policy of arming merchantmen:

"The reason why the crack liner *Lusitania* is so long delayed at Liverpool has been announced to be because her turbine engines are being completely replaced, but Cunard officials acknowledged to the *Tribune* correspondent to-day that *the greyhound is being equipped with high power naval rifles in conformity with England's new policy of arming passenger boats.* So when the great ship, the third selected by the Government for armament, next appears in New York Harbor about the end of August, she will be the first British merchantman for more than a century sailing up the Lower Bay with black guns bristling over her sides.

"The *Lusitania,* which will be an almost invaluable addition to England's merchant fleet, because not only is she so fast but of such great capacity for the carrying of troops, was originally built with her decks adapted for rifles, and the task of installing the battle guns will be comparatively easy.

"It is very probable that immediately the tourist season is ended the *Mauretania* will be called to Liverpool, overhauled and equipped with guns. The British Government is hastening the task of creating an armed fleet under the red ensign. A mailboat running to South America now carries rifles, and to-morow the Aberdeen liner *Themistocles* sails

out of the Thames bound for Australia equipped with the newest type of guns."

The *Tribune* was not alone in calling attention to this practice of the British Goverment, as news articles and editorials in many papers gave consideration to the subject, as may be seen by reference to the files of the papers.

Mr. Richard Harding Davis, in the November, 1914, *Scribner's,* in an article entitled "The Germans in Brussels," stated:

"But when on the third day, we came on deck, the news was written against the sky: Swinging from the funnels, sailors were painting out the scarlet and black colors of the Cunard Line, and substituting a mouse-like grey. Overnight we had passed into the hands of the Admiralty, and the *Lusitania had emerged a cruiser.*"

Mr. Davis would make a good witness for the German embassy in establishing the truth that the *Lusitania* was indeed a warship and not an innocent passenger ship.

"The Navy List" published by the British Government contains the following reference to the relations existing between the British Admiralty and the Cunard Company:

"ROYAL NAVAL RESERVE MERCHANT VESSELS—422.

"Royal Naval Reserve Merchant Vessels.

"The vessels named below are held by the Cunard Company at the disposal of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and receive an annual subvention.

Name of Steamer.	H. P.	Gross Tonnage.
Lusitania	68,000	31,550
Mauretania	68,000	31,938

"In addition to the above the Company holds all vessels, for the time being the property of the Company, at the disposal of His Majesty's Government for hire or purchase."

The "Navy List" also states that on August 23, 1907, the Cunard Company was authorized to display the blue flag under No. 813.

The good faith of the German Government in contending that the *Lusitania* was armed has been impugned by the press in America. From the official publications of the British Government and from the general understanding in European circles it was fair to assume that the *Lusitania* was armed.

The only contrary evidence is that of our Collector of the New York Port, Dudley Field Malone, who states that the *Lusitania* upon inspection had no guns mounted when she left the port of New York on her last trip.

Of the inspection of Collector Malone the German Government could have known nothing. The ship was generally understood to be armed. It admittedly carried large quantities of ammunition. Whether it was armed or not is within the power of the British Government to prove. Evidently, according to the New York *Tribune* and the generally accepted understanding, the *Lusitania* was at one time armed. The guns were once in place, even if only for purposes of trial. The *Lusitania's* guns evidently existed. If she was not armed when sunk, the British Government can prove by its Admiralty records the date upon which her guns were removed and where they were stored, for if she did not carry guns they must have been in some British arsenal ready for mounting. In fact, if the *Lusitania's* guns did not go down with the ship the British Government can at this moment exhibit them to neutral witnesses. No offer of such exhibition has been made.

The British Government can also say where the *Mauretania's* guns are, whether on that ship or in storage, as a corrobative piece of evidence. Will it do so?

It would seem far more likely that on entering New York harbor, the *Lusitania's* guns were concealed in the coal bunkers or in special rooms provided for the purpose, and thus she was able to pass inspection, and on reaching the high seas again, to replace the guns in position. Such a procedure would be in strict accordance with the British Government's traditional policy of duplicity and would explain the conflicting statements given out.

The *Caronia* left New York harbor early in the war, after passing inspection, and immediately afterwards stood outside the three mile limit for many weeks. No steamer unarmed would remain in such a position for such a period of time. Evidently that was another case of coal bunker armament.

The relations of the German submarines to the British merchantmen are not properly understood. It is generally assumed that the merchantmen are defenseless and that the submarines are perfectly safe and that a struggle between them is with the advantage all on the side of the submarines. Such is not the case. In sinking merchantmen the German submarines are acting clearly within their rights as laid down in international law for the reason that by orders of the British Admiralty the British merchantmen are without exception acting as war vessels.

They are announced by the British Government to be generally armed, and the Parliamentary Secretary in an answer to the question by Lord Charles Beresford gave the declaration to Parliament that practically all British merchant vessels were armed and provided with hand grenades.

Following these policies, King George decorated the Captain of the merchant steamer *Thordis* for ramming and sinking a German sub-

marine, while the British Admiralty made him a Lieutenant of the Naval Reserve.

The submarine *U*-14 was fired upon and sunk by an English fishing steamer after the submarine commander had signalled the steamer that the crew had five minutes in which to leave the vessel.

Otto Weddigen, commander of the famous *U*-9 which sank the three British cruisers the *Aboukir,* the *Cressy* and the *Hawk,* early in the war, lost his life and went down in *U*-29, the submarine being rammed and sunk by an English tank steamer under a neutral (Swedish) flag, which took advantage of the delay when hailed and ordered to show its papers by Weddigen.

The persistence in such policies and the general orders to merchant vessels to act as war vessels when threatened by submarines, and to escape them by increasing speed when hailed, constitute violations of international law, which clearly prescribes that merchantmen must stop when hailed and shall not act in a hostile manner. All British merchantmen may therefore properly and on the evidence of the British Government itself be regarded as war vessels and as such are liable to be sunk without notice just as are war vessels used exclusively for belligerent purposes.

As far as the *Lusitania* was concerned, she was a dreadnaught in relation to the submarine, and it is more than likely that at the time of the accident she had men manning her guns ready to fire at the first evidence of a submarine. The announcement of her captain before he started that he could and would run away from a submarine if he encountered one was also a violation of international law and had there been no other violation would have made his vessel liable to attack without warning.

The military justification of the sinking of the *Lusitania* is therefore complete. As to its moral justification every one must draw his own conclusion. Owing to the great size of the vessel it seems quite possible that the German authorities did not suppose that a torpedo would sink the vessel. In all probability their plans called merely for disabling the vessel. No ship of such size ever went down so quickly (less than fifteen minutes) and had the captain shut the water-tight compartments before entering the war zone and taken proper action after being struck she probably would not have sunk until the passengers were off. Of the 1,335 passengers and the crew of 651 only 772 were saved, of the latter number more than half were members of the crew. Owing to the large cargo of ammunition which appears to have exploded after the vessel was struck and to have been the final cause of the sinking, the British government has certainly the ultimate responsibility. What justification there can be for placing passengers on a munition ship is not apparent. Indeed it is utterly indefensible and the British government is not only

chargeable with the loss of life due to the disaster, but also with provocative conduct.

Furthermore, the British government is not making proper efforts to sift the facts in the case.

One singular fact, for example, concerning the situation is that no report has come to this country as to the depth of water in which the *Lusitania* sank. It was surmised that as the stern of the ship sank bow down and at a certain point stopped sinking, that the bow struck the ocean bottom. This was further confirmed by the small suction observed as the vessel sank. If this be the case, the vessel should not be too deep for examination by divers. When it was proposed that neutral divers be sent down to examine the vessel the British Admiralty refused to listen to the suggestion.

Neutral divers would tell in a very short time whether the vessel was armed or not, and the reason for the internal explosion. These are facts, however, which it is evident that the British Government does not want known.

The situation as it stands is well suited to the purpose of British policy. Indeed it would seem from the circumstances that her destruction was deliberately courted by the British Admiralty as a means of embroiling America in the war.—*The Fatherland,* June 30, 1915.

Armed in Self-Defense.

Lord Robert Cecil Defends Right of Merchantmen of Belligerents.

LONDON, July 8.—"Merchant vessels of a belligerent power are entitled by established and uninterrupted usage of the sea to carry and use armament in self-defense," said Lord Robert Cecil, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in reply to a question put by Commander Carlyon W. Bellairs in the House of Commons to-day.

"Several neutral governments," Lord Robert said, "were communicated with in this matter at the outbreak of the war, and several more have been approached since, as circumstances suggested. The principle of merchant ships carrying arms for self-defense has been generally recognized, and British ships so armed have been trading regularly with the various countries since an early stage of the war.'

Commander Bellairs's question was whether, in view of the unusual character of the German attacks on unarmed merchant vessels, the government would ask all neutral governments to allow merchant vessels armed for purposes of defense only to trade with their ports.—*Richmond Times-Dispatch,* July 9, 1915.

She Sank a Submarine.

The "Demerara," an "Unarmed" British Merchantman, Did the Work with Artillery and Her Officers Publicly Boasted of It When They Got to Brazil.

SAO PAULO, BRAZIL, June 21, 1915.

To the Editor of The Gaelic American:

A chara:—Apropos of the barbarity of the Germans in sinking "unarmed" vessels, the following translation of a telegram which appeared in the principal paper here, *O Estado de Sao Paulo,* on June 19th, may be of interest to your readers:

The arrival of the *Auxiliary Cruiser Demerara*—Naval Battle With a Submarine—How the Battle Was Fought.

"RIO DE JANEIRO, 18.—Since daybreak the second *auxiliary cruiser Demerara* has been anchored in this port.

"As soon as the first launches arrived at the ship the *passengers* of the *Demerara* commenced to tell about the naval battle between *the English cruiser* and a German submarine.

"Shortly afterwards the second officer, commander of a *piece of artillery of 75 centimetres calibre,* and who had been the hero of the fight, came ashore. We interviewed him, and with simplicity he narrated the following:

"The *Demerara* was passing through the St. George's Channel between Ireland and England when at 10 o'clock the captain, Captain Guillard, noticed the track left by a torpedo which passed by the bow of *the cruiser.* Immediately the signal was passed to the crew who put themselves *in position for battle.* The second officer assumed command of the *piece of artillery which was placed on the bow of the Demerara.* With his glass he noticed the periscope of the enemy's submarine which was slowly emerging and some seconds afterward he noticed that part of the steel work of the vessel *had been broken by a well-aimed shot.*

"The *Demerara* nevertheless continued her march, noticing, however, that near-by large bubbles were rising to the surface, oily bubbles, which clearly demonstrated the efficacy of the shot.

"After the feat the crew *and passengers,* who travelled on the steamer, awaited the moment of the "revanche" for the *Demerara.*

"Captain Guillard, as a measure of precaution, ordered that all passengers should arm themselves with life-belts, and also that all boats should be lowered, as he calculated that near the Canary Islands five more hostile submarines waited the passage of the steamer. The danger, however, passed, and the *Demerara* arrived without further incident.

"An official communication was made to the effect that the *Demerara* sunk a German submarine. This communication will be delivered to-day to the English Legation, to the end that it may be brought to the knowledge of the British Admiralty."

The italics are mine.

All the papers here published the foregoing item of news without comment and with evident satisfaction at the "heroism" of the "unarmed" merchant vessel. The *Demerara* and other auxiliary cruisers still continue to ply between England and South America as mail and passenger steamers, and our South American authorities grant them all the privileges of harmless merchantmen, although we are strictly neutral here, especially when a German makes an effort to refute the hired calumniators of his country. When the *Demerara* is sunk later on, we will all hold up our hands in holy horror at the barbarity of the Germans in sinking unarmed vessels with women and children on board, our papers will publish heart-rending pictures of corpses of mothers floating on the sea still clutching their babes, and we will solemnly expel Germans from our clubs and dismiss German employees, all in the interests of "civilization."

E. C.

—*Gaelic American,* July 17, 1915.

VIII.

The Manifest of the Lusitania.

Lost Lusitania's Cargo Limited.

About 1,500 Tons in Bulk; Worth $735.579.

LOW WAR RISK INSURANCE RATE.

BIG TURBINER HAD 250 BAGS OF MAIL—MILITARY CARGO INCLUDED SMALL ARMS, AMMUNITION, AND SOME EMPTY BIG GUN SHELLS—SUCH MATERIAL COULD NOT HAVE FURTHERED DESTRUCTION OF VESSEL AFTER TORPEDO STRUCK—GREATEST LOSS ON SHIP ITSELF—ITS VALUE $10,000,000.

The principal money loss on the *Lusitania* consists in the destruction of the ship herself, with her expensive engines and turbines. Like all the great Cunard express turbines, her cargo capacity was very limited, and although on her last voyage she carried practically all she had room for, it did not amount to more than 1,500 tons, valued at $735,579. The ship, with all its expensive saloon fittings, magnificent wood-work, and so forth, was worth $10,000,000. She represented practically the last word in marine design, and only her sister ship, the *Mauretania,* had ever bettered her speed record. On her trial runs she was credited with as much as twenty-eight knots an hour.

Fortunately she carried no specie, and only 250 bags of mail. Most of her cargo was for military purposes, but she carried no ammunition that might have assisted the damage of the German torpedoes. Captain D. G. Roberts, the Cunard pier captain in this city, said she had a few cases of small-arms ammunition, but not enough to have done any damage. She also had a large consignment of big-gun shells, empty, and of course, harmless.

The Cunard Line carried its customary insurance to the value of $7,500,000 at 3 per cent. on the vessel, and, in addition to this, a special war risk at 1¼ per cent. for each round voyage. It is understood that the line carried one-third of the insurance, the rest being divided among Lloyd's and other underwriters. About half the insurance written upon the cargo was taken by local underwriters, the rest being carried by

Lloyd's. On the theory that the *Lusitania* was too fast to be caught by a submarine, the cargo rate was 1 per cent., much lower than the customary transatlantic rate at this time.

London advices assert that the *Lusitania* carried no battery, in accordance with the ruling of the United States Government on this point, and could not be classed as an auxiliary cruiser, although she certainly was carrying contraband.

The full manifest, with the cities to which the good were consigned, is as follows:

LIVERPOOL.

Sheet brass, lbs.	260,000	$ 49,565
Copper, lbs.	111,762	20,955
Copper wire, lbs.	58,465	11,000
Cheese, lbs.	217,157	33,334
Beef, lbs.	342,165	30,995
Butter, lbs	43,614	8,730
Lard, lbs.	40,003	4,000
Bacon, lbs.	185,040	18,502
Casings, pkgs.	10	150
Cd. meat, cases	485	1,373
Cd. vegetables, cases	248	744
Cutlery, pkgs.	63	10,492
Shoes, pkgs.	10	726
Tongues, pkgs.	10	224
Oysters, bbls.	205	1,025
Lubricating oils, bbls.	25	1,129
Hardware, pkgs.	31	742
Leather, pkgs.	30	16,870
Reclaimed rubber, pkgs.	10	347
Furs, pkgs.	349	119,220
Notions, pkgs.	2	974
Confectionery, pkgs.	655	2,823
Silverware, pkgs.	8	700
Precious stones, pkgs.	32	13,350
Jewelry, pkgs.	2	251
Belting, pkgs.	2	1,243
Auto, vehicles and parts, pkgs.	5	616
Electrical material, pkgs.	8	2,464
Machinery, pkgs.	2	1,386
Steel and mfrs., pkgs.	8	354
Copper mfrs., pkgs.	138	21,000
Aluminum mfrs., pkgs.	144	6,000
Brass mfrs., pkgs.	95	6,306
Iron mfrs., pkgs.	33	3,381

Old rubber, pkgs.	7	341
Military goods, pkgs.	189	66,221
Dry goods, pkgs.	238	19,036
I. R. goods, pkgs.	1	131
Wire goods, pkgs.	16	771
Staves, pkgs.	2,351	200
Brushes, pkgs.	4	342
Ammunition, cases	1,271	47,624
Salt, pkgs.	100	125
Bronze powder, cases	50	1,000
BRISTOL.		
Dental goods, pkgs.	7	2,319
Steel and mfrs., pkgs.	4	331
DUBLIN.		
Engines and materials, pkgs.	2	140
GLASGOW.		
Notions, pkgs.	1	479
KOBE.		
Liquid glue, pkgs.	2	124
LONDON.		
Books, pkgs.	9	845
Drugs, pkgs.	8	458
Wool yarn, pkgs.	1	105
Shoes, case	1	274
Bronze powder, cases	16	887
Motor cycles and parts, pkgs.	8	1,650
Paintings, pkg.	1	2,312
Furs, pkg.	1	750
Printed matter, pkgs.	14	147
Leather, cases	89	31,517
Cartridges and ammunition cases	4,200	152,400
Films, case	1	100
Machine patterns, pkgs.	3	1,500
Machinery, pkgs.	6	1,149
Electrical machinery, pkg.	1	1,616
Watch material, pkgs.	2	2,489
Electrical material, pkgs.	4	3,200
Auto, vehicle and parts, pkgs.	4	340
Optical goods, pkg.	1	1,313
Dental goods, pkgs.	10	3,962
MANCHESTER.		
Sewing machines and parts, pkgs.	20	360
Total		$735,579

—*Evening Post*, May 8, 1915.

Bomb Chemicals in Cargo.

Chemist Says Lusitania Carried 250,000 Pounds of Tetra-Chloride.

PITTSBURGH, PENN., May 9.—Dr. John Braun, a chemist, is authority for the statement that the *Lusitania* carried 250,000 pounds of tetra-chloride made in Pittsburgh and consigned to the French Government, to be used in making gas bombs.

Dr. Braun said the German Government must have been aware of this, and last Monday he predicted the vessel would never reach her destination.

Survivors of the *Lusitania* are said to have complained that they were suffocated by the fumes of gas, believing that it was from the torpedo. Dr. Braun believes the suffocation was caused by the escaping tera-chloride, which causes partial asphyxiation.

Dr. Braun is a graduate of the University of Berlin, and explained the chemical as follows:

"Tetra-chloride of tin is a volatile substance having a very pungent and suffocating odor. The shipment contained in the hold of the *Lusitania* was intended to be used in making asphyxiating bombs to be thrown into the German ranks by the French forces. The shipment was made from Pittsburgh.

"Evidently the German authorities knew what was in the hold of the ship, and it was to their interest to prevent this cargo reaching its destination.

"To any one who knew all these circumstances it was an easy matter to predict what would happen, taking into account the time of departure and the usual time for the *Lusitania* to cross the Atlantic, in connection with the reports as to where the German submarines had shown great activity lately."—*Special to the New York Times.*

IX.

Who is Responsible?

1—INTRODUCTORY.

"Perfectly in Order"—Admiral Scott.

In the issue of the *London Times* of June 14, 1914, ADMIRAL SIR PERCY SCOTT, an acknowledged British authority on naval warfare, published a very remarkable opinion about the uselessness of large battleships and cruisers, which would be entirely replaced by aeroplanes and submarines in naval warfare. Everything he predicted in this article has come true during this war. He says in this article among other things that a submarine cannot board a vessel of the enemy and make her a prize as in the olden times.

He says: "If we go to war with a country that is in striking distance of submarines, I am of the opinion that that country will at once lock her fleet up in a safe harbor. Aeroplanes and airships will know where the fleets are, SUBMARINES WILL COME AT ONCE AND DESTROY EVERYTHING THEY CAN GET AT. We will do the same, but an island with many harbors and much shipping is at a great disadvantage if the enemy has submarines.

It will be a navy of youth, for we will require nothing but boldness and daring."

In the issue of July 10, 1914, the same expert replied to a number of criticisms, among others repudiating the remark that attack on merchantmen by submarines would be piracy. This elicited a reply from Lord Sydenham, published on July 14th, in which he declared very emphatically that he would consider such proceeding as being associated with piracy in its blackest form.

To this Sir Percy Scott replied in a letter to the *London Times* published on July 16, 1914, that the utterances of Lord Sydenham are only possible because he, as an officer of the army, did not understand the spirit of naval warfare. He warns the British people who depend for their foodstuff supply on imports not to be misguided by such opinion in regard to the attitude of any future enemy of England. To corroborate his opinion he quotes from a letter of some unidentified foreigner:

"IF WE WENT TO WAR, WITH AN INSULAR COUN-

TRY DEPENDING FOR ITS FOOD-SUPPLY FROM OVERSEA, IT WOULD BE OUR BUSINESS TO STOP THAT SUPPLY. ON THE DECLARATION OF WAR WE SHOULD NOTIFY THE ENEMY THAT SHE SHOULD WARN HER SHIPS COMING HOME NOT TO APPROACH, AS WE WERE ESTABLISHING A BLOCKADE OF MINES AND SUBMARINES. SIMILARLY WE SHOULD WARN ALL NEUTRALS THAT SUCH A BLOCKADE HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED AND THAT, IF ANY OF THEIR VESSELS APPROACHED THE ISLAND, THEY WOULD BE LIKELY TO DESTRUCTION EITHER BY MINES OR BY SUBMARINES, AND THEREFORE WOULD DO SO AT THEIR OWN RISK."

That is exactly what happened in the case of the *Lusitania,* not even considering her tremendous cargo of contraband, and what happens in the war zone every day.

To this Admiral Sir Percy Scott adds:

"SUCH A PROCEDURE WOULD IN MY OPINION BE PERFECTLY IN ORDER, AND ONCE IT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED, IF ANY BRITISH OR NEUTRAL SHIP DISREGARDS IT AND ATTEMPTS TO RUN THE BLOCKADE, THEY COULD NOT BE HELD TO BE ENGAGED IN THE PEACEFUL AVOCATION REFERRED TO BY LORD SYDENHAM, AND IF THEY WERE SUNK IN THE ATTEMPT, IT COULD NOT BE DESCRIBED AS A RELAPSE INTO SAVAGERY OR PIRACY IN ITS BLACKEST FORM."

Sapienti sat!—N. Y. Staatszeitung, June 11, 1915.

A Precedent.

At the outbreak of the Japanese-Russian War the following official order to all British subjects was issued by the British Consulate at Shanghai, China:

"All subjects of the Crown are notified that the British Government will not undertake to be responsible for the safety of any British subject leaving this port on a ship of either of the belligerent nations."—*Gaelic-American,* August 7, 1915.

2—ENGLISH UTTERANCES.

The Verdict of the Jury.

KINSALE, IRELAND, May 10.—The Coroner's Jury which has been investigating the deaths attendant upon the loss of the *Lusitania* returned the following verdict to-day:

"The jury find that this appalling crime was contrary to international law and the conventions of all civilized nations, and we therefore charge the officers of the submarine, and the German Emperor and the Government of Germany, under whose orders they acted, with the crime of wilful and wholesale murder."—*Gaelic-American* (*N. Y.*), May 15, 1915.

3—AMERICAN NEWSPAPER UTTERANCES.

Great Britain's Merchantmen Virtually a Part of Her Hostile Armament.

In the opinion of some naval experts British merchant vessels have been for months part and parcel of the hostile armament of that nation so far as submarines of Germany or Austria-Hungary have been concerned.

Before the *Transylvania* sailed from New York on May 7th, her captain, John Black, was quoted as saying: "I have been hunting for a submarine ever since the war began. I only hope I can meet one on this trip and that she comes close enough for me to ram her."

Captain Black voiced the sentiment of every British captain, for they are brave and loyal men, determined to destroy their country's enemies wherever possible to accomplish such destruction.

Captain Black, of the *Transylvania;* Captain Turner, of the *Lusitania,* and every other captain of British vessels in the transatlantic trade have known for months that heavy monetary rewards had been offered the captains and crews of British ships for the destruction of German submarines.

They must have known that many merchant vessels of Great Britain have not only been armed for the purpose of sinking submarines, but that several captains had made claims for the rewards while reporting that they had sunk submarines by ramming them.

On March 7th, Joseph Honlt, a large ship-owner of London, published an offer of $2,000 apiece to "the next four merchantmen or trawlers which sink German submarines."

These offers of rewards to all British captains and crews to change peaceful merchantmen into hostile armaments for the empire were applauded by the people of Great Britain and in no way, manner or form condemned by the British admiralty or by any branch of the British government.

When Captain Black declared his intention to ram a submarine with the *Transylvania,* he only repeated the published declaration of the captain of the White Star liner, the *Baltic,* a few weeks ago, and expressed

the sentiment of every other loyal British captain of either merchant ship or fishing smack.

They were ready, and are ready, to destroy their enemies and earn the offered rewards in cash and the plaudits of their countrymen by the ramming of submarines.

It is patriotism, sturdy patriotism, but not such judgment that commends itself to peaceful passengers who desire a secure and uneventful voyage on the high seas.

Given such intensity of feeling and such determination to ram submarines upon the part of British captains, and cargoes of ammunition and war material aboard, British steamships can neither be classed as peaceful merchant vessels nor properly deemed such, is the view of many naval officers.

Certainly naval commanders of American submarines would neither shun such declared antagonists, give them a chance to earn the rewards by ramming their boats, nor deem their vessels peaceful merchantmen.

This phase of Britain's commercial fleets being hostile armaments is sure to become an issue in the *Lusitania* case.—*Washington Post,* May 17, 1915.

Why the Lusitania Was Sunk.

Last week we predicted the fate that has overtaken the *Lusitania. The Fatherland* did not reach the news-stands till Saturday, but the editorial in question was written several days before publication. To-day we make another prediction. Every large passenger ship bound for England is practically a swimming arsenal, carrying vast quantities of ammunition and explosives of every description.. An arsenal, whether on sea or land, is not a safe place for women and children. It is not a safe place for anyone. Every now and then we read of a warship blown up by an explosion caused by spontaneous combustion, in spite of the rigid care exercised to prevent such an accident. Our passenger ships carry more explosives than the ordinary man-of-war. No innocent passenger should be allowed to embark on a vessel carrying explosives. *It stands to reason that a fate not unlike that of the Lusitania will meet before long a passenger ship by an explosion of vast stores of ammunition within.* While Germany is not bound to respect a flag of any ship carrying implements of murder, German submarines may discriminate in favor of a neutral flag. Spontaneous combustion recognizes no international convention.

Much as we regret the staggering loss of life in the disaster that startled the world, the facts in the case absolutely justify the action of the Germans.

Legally and morally there is no basis for any protest on the part of the United States. The *Lusitania* was a British ship. British ships have been instructed by the Admiralty to ram submarines and to take active measures against the enemy. Hence every British ship must be considered in the light of a warship.

The *Lusitania* flew the ensign of the British Naval Reserves before the submarine warfare was initiated. Since that time she has hoisted many a flag, including the Stars and Stripes. According to a statement issued by the advertising manager of the Cunard Line, the *Lusitania* "when torpedoed was entirely out of the control of the Cunard Company and operated under the command of the British Admiralty."

The *Lusitania* carried contraband of war from this country to England. If this contraband had reached its destination it would undoubtedly have killed far more Germans than the total number of passengers lost on the *Lusitania.* As a matter of fact it did actually kill the passengers by precipitating the sinking of the ship. There can be no doubt that the ship would not have sunk for hours, if explosions from within had not hastened its end. *Every passenger on a boat carrying contraband of war takes his life into his hands.* The explosives in the hold of a ship, we repeat, constitutes a graver peril to passengers than the shots of German torpedoes.

It cannot be said that the *Lusitania* was torpedoed without warning. Ordinarily a half hour's warning is regarded sufficient. In this case the ship was warned of its fate *four or five days in advance.* We need only turn to the warning notice issued by the German Embassy on the day before the *Lusitania* left the harbor of New York.

Instead of urging the President to take steps against Germany, we should impeach the Secretary of State for his neglect of duty in not warning all Americans of the peril of ocean traffic in the war zone, especially under the flag of a belligerent nation. If the Secretary of State, in accordance with the Mexican precedent had issued such a warning, not a single American life would have been forfeited.

Germany, provoked by England which established a war zone as early as November and made the importation of foodstuffs into Germany practically impossible, decided upon submarine warfare as a measure of retaliation. She was forced to do so by the signal failure of the United States to protect the common rights of neutrals. When Germany determines upon a plan of action she means business. The Germans are not a nation of poker players. Germany does not bluff.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* is a terrific lesson, but in order to drive home its force more fully and to safeguard this country from further losses and from the danger of complications with Germany, the State Department should issue at once a formal notice admonishing American citizens to shun all ships flying the flag of a belligerent nation and all

ships, *irrespective of nationality,* which carry across the sea the tools of destruction.

But if we accuse the State Department of negligence, we should indict the officials of the Cunard Line for murder. They knew that the *Lusitania* was a floating fortress. Yet, for the sake of sordid gain, they jeopardized the lives of more than two thousand people. When the German Embassy issued its warning, the Cunard Line pooh-poohed the danger so as to not to forfeit the shekels paid for the passage.

Did the Cunard Line tell its prospective passengers that its crew was short of eighty or ninety stokers?

Did the Cunard Line inform its passengers that the *Lusitania,* as Marconi states in an interview, narrowly escaped an attack by a submarine on a previous voyage?

Did they inform the passengers of the fact that one of its turbines was defective?

How many of the passengers would have remained on the boat if the officials of the Cunard Line had not suppressed the truth?

Those innocent victims believed in the protection of the British Admiralty. The Captain of the *Lusitania* admits that the Admiralty "never seemed to bother" about the *Lusitania.* He knew that England, though she waives the rules, no longer rules the waves. He is a soldier under orders of the Admiralty. He has a right to take chances with his own life. But what right has he to take chances with the lives of his crew and his two thousand passengers?—*The Fatherland,* May 19, 1915.

When the Torpedo Struck the Lusitania.

When the *Lusitania* sailed, she had on board 2,160 persons, of whom 188 were Americans. Many of the passengers were women and children. Between the time of sailing and the time the ship reached the war zone, twenty-two vessels were torpedoed in the zone. The captain received admiralty communications, but no warships were sent to convoy the big liner. For this bitter complaint against the British Government has been made, and the First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, when questioned about this in Parliament, said: "Our resources do not enable us to provide destroyer escorts for mail and passenger ships. * * * The general principle regarding the providing of escorts is that merchant traffic must look after itself." The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. *Evening Post* supplies another possible explanation. If a ship is under convoy, a submarine, we are told, is entitled to treat her "precisely as if she were a man-of-war," this having been the law of the sea as far back as the days of Napoleon. As the *Gulflight* was under convoy at the time she was torpedoed, this phase of the law may become an

important part of the controversy. The *Lusitania* was struck by one torpedo only, according to the official version in Berlin. "The detonation of the torpedo was folowed immediately by a further explosion of extremely strong effect. * * * The second explosion must be traced back to the ignition of quantities of ammunition inside the ship." This tallies with the testimony of Captain Turner, of the *Lusitania,* before the coroner's jury. He said: "There was a slight shock. Immediately after the first explosion there was another report, but that may possibly have been internal." In eighteen minutes the ship sank. The Captain tried to reverse the engines but found them out of commission. As he could not stop the ship, he had to delay lowering the boats, as "it was not safe to lower boats until the speed was off the vessel." Although the *Lusitania* was capable of making 25 knots an hour, and her speed was relied upon to protect her from submarines, she was going at but 18 knots when struck, though the weather was clear. The Captain's explanation for this is that he wanted to arrive at Liverpool bar within two or three hours of high water, without stopping. Nor was the ship pursuing a zigzag course. "It is impossible," says the N. Y. *Evening Sun,* "to escape the impression of foolhardiness in the navigation of the *Lusitania* in view of the insistent threats that had been made against her." This view has found frequent expression. Some German-Americans even assert that the British Admiralty were desirous of the sinking of the *Lusitania* for the effect it would have in embroiling this country with Germany. The editor of the *Friedensbote,* of St. Louis, finds no other way of explaining the attitude of the Admiralty. He does not comment, however on the obliging disposition of the Germans in thus playing the alleged British game!—*Current Opinion,* June, 1915.

Cunard Economy.

It seems to be certain that the Cunard Company and the British naval department were responsible in large measure for the loss of the *Lusitania* and the lives of her passengers and part of her crew. Several of the steamer's boilers had been put out of commission to save coal and she was incapable of making full speed. She was run through the submarine zone in broad daylight instead of under the shelter of darkness, and no attempt was made to provide her with convoys.

* * * * * * *

It will be a new and very perplexing point in law whether the Cunard Company by its indefensible and miserable economy did not make itself liable for the loss of life; and the British government owes civilization an explanation of why it took no measures to protect the *Lusitania.*—*Richmond (Va.) Evening Journal,* June 17, 1915.

4—AMERICAN UTTERANCES.

"Gulflight" Case Most Serious of Two.

Senator Stone, Chairman of Foreign Relations, Gives Views of Lusitania Affair.

(By United Press.)

WASHINGTON, May 8.—Senator Stone, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the upper house of Congress, issued the following statement at noon concerning the *Lusitania's* destruction:

"The tragedy, of course, is to be profoundly regretted. If the reports as to the loss of life are true, the sympathies of the civilized world will be deeply stirred. But for us, it seems to me that good sense dictates that we keep our heads until we get our bearings. It is a bad time to get rattled and act impulsively. 'Don't rock the boat.'

"Without expressing an opinion as to our relations as to this event or as to our duty in premises there are some facts we cannot overlook and are bound to consider.

"We cannot overlook the fact that the *Lusitania* was a British ship flying the British flag, and subject at any time to be put into the actual naval service of the government. Indeed, it is stated, that at the time she was attacked she was carrying military reservists to England for service in the British army.

"True there were American citizens aboard, but it must not be forgotten that they went aboard a belligerent ship with full knowledge of the risk, and after official warning by the German government. When on board a British vessel they were on British soil. Was not their position substantially equivalent to their being in the walls of a fortified city?

"If American citizens stay within a city besieged or threatened and the enemy attacks, what should our Government do if our citizens should be injured? I express no opinion at this time. I am merely suggesting reasons why we should maintain our equilibrium, and not 'rock the boat' until we know what we are about.—*Richmond Evening Journal,* May 9, 1915.

Blame Not Germany's.

Harvard Professor Justifies Sinking of Lusitania.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., May 9.—Claiming that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was justified, Prof. John A. Walse, head of Harvard's department

of German, however, was at a loss to answer when questioned as to what advantage Germany would gain by such tactics and what his nation would gain ultimately through such fatalities.

Prof. Walse said:

DOESN'T SEE ANY OFFENSE.

"Germany just had to sink the *Lusitania.* Bound by the drastic sea regulations that prevent the shipment of food to Germany, it is only natural that the nation should turn on its oppressor and hit back. After all, which is the harder death, by starvation or drowning? For my part I would prefer the latter, as it is more humane.

"I think that the captain of the submarine made a grave mistake, for he should have permitted the passengers to leave the ship in safety.

"I don't term such an incident as this sinking as an assassination or massacre. I don't see any offense against a higher moral law. Germany's very existence is threatened, and this is but one of her methods in self-defense. The fault lies entirely with England for stopping food shipments to Germany. I do wish that the United States government had taken a firmer attitude toward England. Such enormous loss of life is to be deplored."

Prof. Heinrich C. Bierwirth said:

"International law has been tossed about like a dirty rag through this war. About every rule has been broken, and I don't see how one can especially blame the Germans for their part in the *Lusitania* fatality."—*Special to the Washington Post,* May 10, 1915.

British Outdone by the Submarine.

U. S. Naval Officers Think They Have Failed to Meet Warfare.

A Washington dispatch to the *New York World* says: Ranking officers of the American navy expect a radical change in the administration of the British admiralty as a result of the destruction of the *Lusitania.* It is their belief that Great Britain has fallen far behind Germany in submarine warfare.

They also look for more daring raids by German submarines, possibly on the Allies' Dardanelles fleet, and if the war lasts a year and a half longer a big attack on the British battleship fleet by new German dreadnoughts that are believed to be in course of construction.

When Germany finally announced her intention to make war under the waters by the use of submarines, and to blow up every British ship that passed within torpedo range, American naval experts appeared to be satisfied that this movement would be checkmated without delay.

They were convinced that the British flotilla of destroyers would be

waiting for every German submarine that poked its periscope above the surface. They believed that the British would send the submarines to the bottom with such rapidity that the German admiralty would decide to change its tactics without delay.

Great Britain's failure to take drastic steps to put an end to the commerce war has given American naval experts the impression that there is something radically wrong with Winston Churchill's management of the admiralty.

The belief was strengthened a thousandfold when the news that no patrol had guarded the Lusitania was flashed to America.

Officers to-day pointed to the fact that upon the British admiralty must rest the blame not only for the destruction of the Lusitania, but much so on account of the tremendous loss of life.

They pointed to the fact that if the *Lusitania* had been accompanied by four or six destroyers, the submarine might have been enabled to strike her a chance blow or two with torpedoes, but at least the passengers and crew would not have been lost, because the patrolling vessels would have been present to pick up the victims.

"If the British admiralty had used a little foresight and withdrawn the fleet of cruisers which are hanging around American ports, for no valuable purpose as far as I can see," a naval officer said to-night, "these vessels might have been on hand to pick up the innocent non-combatants who are now dead.

"We are simply dumbfounded by Great Britain's failure to fill the seas in the vicinity of Ireland and England with destroyers and submarines.

"We have reason to believe that Germany has turned out more than 100 and probably 200 submarines since the war began. She has passed Great Britain's supply, and as far as we are able to find out Great Britain is doing nothing to combat this handicap. The same thing is true of destroyers. Germany is turning them out in great numbers and Great Britain appears to be completely at a standstill.

"For several months we have been quite well convinced that Germany intends to carry on a warfare under the sea and in the air. It is apparent to any one that she has no intention of actually testing her strength with Great Britain's first fleet at this time, because she could not expect to win a great battle.

"If she continues at the rate she is now going in the construction of submarines and airships, I believe she will be enabled to exert tremendous pressure upon the allies before fall. It would not surprise me in the least to see a submarine raid on the French fleet which is guarding the mouth of the Adriatic. Of course, the submarines would be German-made and shipped over land to some Austrian port."—*Deutsche Zeitung,* Charleston, S. C.

American Naval Men Blame British Officers for the Lusitania Disaster.

Liner Sunk by German Submarine Should Have Been Convoyed by Cruisers Through War Zone, Say Experts. Radical Defect in Fleet Administration Alleged.

NEW YORK, May 9.—A Washington dispatch to the *World* says:

American naval officers are losing respect for the administration of the British admiralty. In conversing with individuals during the last few weeks officers have criticised Great Britain's failure to use her navy more effectively. To-day officers marveled at the admiralty's failure to protect the *Lusitania* so that it would have been impossible for the German submarines to send her to the bottom. "The British lord of the admiralty is not to be envied his position to-day," a ranking officer of the navy said.

"I would not like to be in his place and feel that a naval policy for which I was responsible had been partially to blame for the destruction of the *Lusitania* with the terrible toll of lives. I fear that the English people may demand a new head of the admiralty before many hours pass, because from to-day's dispatches it appears that they are rapidly beginning to realize that something is radically wrong with the naval administration.

LOOKED FOR CONVOY.

"Forty-eight hours ago we were all quite satisfied that the *Lusitania* would be escorted into port by a large fleet of torpedoboat destroyers which would have been capable of protecting her from a whole division of submarines. I was perfectly astounded to find that she was given no protection whatever.

"There is a theory in the British admiralty that the best defense against submarine attack is speed. That theory will probably be disposed of as a result of the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*. The belief appeared to prevail in London that it would be impossible to destroy a ship of the *Lusitania's* speed by torpedo because she would be expected to outdistance her pursuers. It appears never to have occurred to the British admiralty that Germans would use precisely the tactics that appear to have been employed in this case—that it would place submarines on her course and lie in wait for her.

SPEED DOESN'T COUNT.

"Of course in a case of this sort of attack the question of speed never entered into the question. There were undoubtedly a score or more of submaries which had nothing to do but wait for the *Lusitania*, and when she hove into sight one or more of them had a relatively easy time getting close enough to send her to the bottom.

"To my mind, however, the greatest error that is being made by the British admiralty is their failure to concentrate all of the second and third class vessels they have in commission, instead of scattering them over the seven seas.

"Great Britain has a good-sized fleet of vessels scattered along the coast of this country and South America looking for German shipping.

COULDN'T GO TO GERMANY.

"It would be impossible for any of these vessels to get out of port carrying guns in position, and it is highly improbable that they would care to attempt to cross the Atlantic for commerce purposes only. If any of them attempted to return to Germany it would be quite easy for some of the British ships to pick them up and dispose of them without difficulty.

"As far as strategy goes, Germany has completely outwitted Great Britain on the sea. According to the number of vessels flying the British flag it should be relatively an easy matter for them to completely cripple the German naval organization. When you add to Great Britain's navy that of France, which is supposed to be as great as that of the United States, it become extremely difficult to account for Britain's failure to rule the waters."—*Special to the Washington Post,* May 10, 1915.

Took Soldiers' Risk.

People on Ship Classed With Men in Trenches by Bartholdt.

SEES NO REDRESS FOR UNITED STATES.

St. Louis, Mo., May 9.—Women and children who were passengers on the *Lusitania* took the same chances as do the soldiers in the trenches, in the opinion of former Representative Richard Bartholdt, who returned to-day from attending the annual meeting of the American Peace Society at Washington.

THINKS SINKING JUSTIFIED.

Although he felt that the sinking of the ship was justified because of the warning issued by Germany, and the fact that it carried contraband of war, he declared that the United States should demand an explanation.

Germany may then express its deep regret that American lives were lost, and will likely issue an official expression of such regret, he said. Of course, he stated, such expression can in no way restore the lives, but it is about all that can be done, in his opinion.

PEOPLE SHOULD NOT TALK WAR.

He does not feel that America should take any warlike stand because of the loss of her citizens at the hands of Germany, with whom she is not now at war.

"The appalling loss of life occasioned by the sinking of the *Lusitania* is the source of deep, the profoundest, grief to Americans, no matter whether they sympathize with Germany or with the allies," he said.—*Washington Post,* May 10, 1915.

An Irish-American on the Lusitania Case.

FOREWORD.

The following powerful article with its clear arraignment of England and its adamantine and unanswerable logic, was written by the same *eminent Irish-American publicist* who only a few weeks ago, foretold, with prophetic insight, the doom of the *Lusitania.* That ship had been rightly judged and condemned as criminal by every rule, reason and contingency of war. And she was justly doomed. She was a huge and formidable *franctireur* of the ocean, and the only answer war has for the *franctireur* on land or sea, is death. And yet with its customary patience and chivalry the German government went so far as to publish the most precise, friendly and timely warnings. Who so, after this, foolishly ventured to risk his life aboard an armed auxiliary cruiser traversing a war-zone and masked under false colors and the pretense of being a peaceful passenger vessel, has no right to the cheap shriek of murder."

Not the German sailors who did their duty in ridding the seas of the gigantic menace laden with enormous stores of munitions designed to bring death and suffering upon their land and people, are to be blamed for the death of non-belligerent, if foolhardy, passengers. No! That guilt,—those cold and accusing corpses,—must be laid at the door of the English, and those Americans who were mad enough to think that Germany in this heroic and superhuman struggle for her rights was still vain enough to indulge in empty threats. Her earnest warnings were received with jeers and sneers, and since all that is noble and magnanimous in her attitude or utterances has invariably been blackened by characteristic British calumny, here, too, she was charged with being actuated only by business motives!

The same spirit that wrecked the *Titanic* and sacrificed so many innocent lives through its scorn for the wireless warning of icebergs sent it by a German liner, is responsible for the destruction of the *Lusitania.* With false colors and the craven shield of a civilian passenger-list—thus would England, the arch-plotter against Peace—carry on her traffic of death under the mask and for the profits of peace. But not all the insane, incoherent rage, the convulsive impotence, the screams of horror

and hysteria that rave like fever-laden siroccos through her degraded press, can alter that truth whose face is as white as marble and as cold as death. By the fires of slaughter she has wantonly kindled shall she be devoured, yes, the very seas she has enslaved shall rise up against her and engulf her pride.

Loath as the sure and terrible German sea-arm is to inflict incidental suffering upon the guiltless, yet even these under such circumstances must not stand between her and her great and inexorable task. Surely the neutral nations must at length recognize the flaming fact that every blow that Germany deals at English sea and world dominion, is not only for her own liberation, but for theirs, for the freedom of the ocean and for the deep planting of that real peace that may yet prevail among the peoples of the earth when the power of England is finally broken forever. To that end we commend to such neutrals as still set calm reason above frenzied emotion, the logic and the lucidity of the following paper.

R. L. ORCHELLE.

THE "LUSITANIA."

A strange fate has been that of the *Lusitania.* The fable of the tortoise and the hare comes to life again in this race of death between the greyhound of the Atlantic and the tortoise beneath the waves. For those on board the *Lusitania* who have lost their lives all Americans will have deep pity, and sorrow and sympathy will go out for the mourners. Many among us may even blame the German navy for this terrible toll of innocent life levied by the new engine of protection with which the German Government meets the attack on the life of the German people. For the submarine warfare of Germany is a warfare of protection—not of destruction. However harmless the vessel be that meets its doom at the tube of the deadly torpedo, whether it be a *Lusitania* or a Grimsby trawler, that vessel represents the cruel edict of a civilized government that has decreed the starvation of the German people.

Which is the greater crime against civilization? To starve a whole people to death, because you cannot overcome their men folk in the field, or to meet that threat by declaring war on every ship that flies, within a given war zone, the flag of the country committed by its government to this horrible attempt?

However lamentable the loss of life may be by the sinking of the *Lusitania,* justice compels us to regard the tragedy in its true light. The *Lusitania* would be riding the waves to-day were it not for the open declaration of war upon the people of Germany, man, woman and child, made by the British Government, and the open connivance of the United States Administration in that breach of the laws of humanity. The responsibility for the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the attendant loss of

non-belligerent lives must be equally shared between the Powers that be in London and the powers that do not be in Washington. The supineness of the one in maintaining American rights and, in failing to resist aggression on them is not less responsible for this great human tragedy than the active guilt of the British Cabinet.

Had our Government used its great influence impartially upon both combatants alike, it is quite inconceivable that the numerous breaches of international law by Great Britain that have marked each month of the war could have been committed. Had a higher conception of neutrality prevailed at Washington it is inconceivable that the *Lusitania* for example, could have been permitted to leave New York on the 2nd of February last, with two American-built submarines in her hold, for delivery in Liverpool on 8th February, *under the American flag.*

That gross violation of our neutrality was met by our administration with a form of protest that in spirit, invited the *Lusitania* to repeat the offence, and assured her of the continued benevolent connivance of the port authorities of New York.

She has repeated the offence. The same criminal connivance that permitted so many British vessels to sail from American ports, not full of merchandise and commodities of life, but packed to the waterline with engines of war and weapons of death, to be used against the men of Germany and Austria-Hungary, has presided over the departure, on her last sea journey, of the doomed *Lusitania.* We say doomed advisedly: Fair warning was given. This journal gave the first. In the issue of April 21st we gave categoric public warning that the performance of the 8th February last was known, and that it should not be repeated with impunity. We declared that the *Lusitania* would be sunk as an "act of retribution." The warning thus given in our columns the violators of American neutrality might well disregard. The *Continental Times,* we know, is of small account. But they disregarded the clear, precise official warning of the German Ambassador at Washington.

Count v. Bernstorff tried to make good by friendly warning some of the deficiencies of our own administration and to save innocent lives. His warning was treated with contempt and open scorn. The Washington correspondent of the London *Times,* a paper by the way, whose authority greatly exceeds its circulation as the circulation of its subsidized contemporary the *Daily Mail* notoriously exceeds its authority, laughed Count Bernstorff's kindly words to scorn. Americans were assured they were as safe in the *Lusitania* as on Broadway. The German warning was a piece of "impudent bluff"; "an insolent attempt to prejudice British commerce"; and a childish effort to make Americans take seriously the non-existent. Thus the *Times* of May 3rd; how will the *Times* of May 8th deal with its vain boasts and criminal belittlement of the warning given in vain?

In the day of judgment that must end this war of illimitable horror and irreparable wrongs, who shall be held accountable for the innocent lives gone down in the pirate hold of the great Cunarder? The men of the German submarine who launched the fatal bolt? —or the men of the British Admiralty, and their aiders and abettors across the ocean who devised a policy of sure and slow starvation against a whole people?

These are the issues before the people of America to-day.

Whither is this false conception of neutrality leading our country?

Let the answer come from the columns of an American newspaper that reached us yesterday from New York: "The Administration is notoriously shutting its eyes to constant and flagrant violations of neutrality on behalf of England, while it is rigorously prosecuting Germans for offences of a similar character.

And it has allowed to pass without reproof a public expression of approval of British violation of neutrality by the very federal official who had prosecuted the Germans. The United States District Attorney in New York was quoted in a published interview as ridiculing the idea of prosecuting anybody for such a trivial thing as supplying the British cruisers outside the harbor with "a few fresh vegetables."

Mr. Marshall knows the feelings of his superiors in Washington and knew that he was quite safe in doing this wholly improper thing. The charges he thus ridiculed included supplying *coal, oil* and various other things needed by fighting ships, all of which are contraband of war. Under Mr. Marshalls' very nose recruiting for the British army was going on for months in Lower Broadway (at the British Consulate General), his superiors in Washington knew all about it but not a federal finger was lifted to stop it. And there is a well founded belief among certain well informed men that a new gun made by Mr. Schwab for the British Government was tested at Sandy Hook by United States army officers on ground owned by the United States Government.

These are not all the violations of neutrality carried on constantly in the interest of England, but they are enough to show that neither President Wilson nor Secretary Bryan is sincere in his profession to enforce strict neutrality.

"Their neutrality is a sham and offence." (*New York 17th April.*)

It is such "neutrality" as this has brought the *Lusitania* to her doom.

And it is such neutrality as this which will bring all the British Cruisers now lying off the port of New York, soiling the waters of Sandy Hook, and illegally blockading our coasts and harbors, with the full support of our marine authorities, to the same fate as the *Lusitania.*

These insults to our Sovereignty, these threats to our peace, these open assaults on our honor, the British cruisers *Essex, Hampshire* and the rest now exercising their "supreme rights" within American waters—

those ships, too, shall go the way of the *Lusitania.* The tortoise may travel slowly—but he travels far.

The long arm of German sea power may yet convince not alone the Admiralty at Whitehall but its admirers at the White House that the days of "Sea Supremacy" by one people, and the insolent "rights" lawlessly assumed under it, are as dead as the days of the galleys of Carthage and as deeply-sunk as the fleets of Xerxes.—*Continental Times,* May 10, 1915.

Sinking the Lusitania.

Of course there will be a grand outcry, both in England and the United States, concerning the sinking of the big transatlantic liner, *Lusitania.* It will quite surely be asserted that an innocent and inoffensive passenger ship was wantonly torpedoed and the lives of all aboard placed in imminent peril, apart from many having been killed. But such outcry, when the circumstances are known, will be found not to have been justified. The *Lusitania* was a notorious carrier of contraband and it was fully resolved by Germany, that such nefarious practices should be put a stop to, once and for all. It was fully determined by the Germans, before the *Lusitania* started on her last voyage from New York, that, if she crossed the Atlantic with fresh contraband aboard, she would be sunk. Notice of the action intended was served upon many of the passengers, in the hopes of dissuading them from taking such a dangerous trip. All aboard must have known what was intended, because copies of those telegraphic warnings were published in every paper in the United States before the *Lusitania* left dock. Nevertheless; owing largely to the bragadoccio of the captain of the *Lusitania* and in as great measure to the reassuring talk of the agents of the Cunard Company; the passengers in the main, were prevailed upon to make the voyage. Undoubtedly they did so at their own risk, knowing full well what they might expect.

In the *Continental Times* of April 21, an article was published; written by an Irish American political leader, who knows all about what is taking place; a part of which reads as follows: "It is common knowledge that the Cunarder *"Lusitania,"* when she entered Liverpool on February 8th had in her hold two submarines, built in America, and sold to the British government in open breach of the President's injunctions. Thus a most flagrant violation of our neutrality was committed, and the gross breach of international law was consummated under the neutral flag of the chief neutral power in the world, thereby endeavoring to make us active agents in an act of war against Germany and Austria.

When the *"Lusitania"* shall be successfully torpedoed by a German submarine in the course of the next few weeks the justification for

that act of retribution can be found in this overt crime against our neutrality, and in the defiance of our national rights as a great power by this subsidized, British "Admiralty-owned vessel, acting under the direct orders of the British government."

And there you have the reason why Germany had decided to sink the *Lusitania,* and her justification for such action.—*Continental Times,* May 10, 1915.

American Explosives Killed the Americans on the Lusitania.

Captain Turner of the *Lusitania* has testified that there were two explosions on his ship, and two only; one was due to a torpedo fired by a submarine, the other to some cause in the interior of the vessel. That cause is probably to be looked for in the explosives stowed away in the hold of the giant liner. There is little doubt, then, that the deaths of the Americans on board the *Lusitania* are due to American war material, intended to make thousands of German widows and orphans. Can Germany be expected to esteem 100 American lives higher than 1,000 German lives?

Should America export war material?—*The Crucible,* May 15, 1915.

How the Americans Feel.

The following cable despatch from Queenstown published in the New York evening papers of Monday last described the feelings of the American survivors of the *Lusitania* disaster:

The American survivors have taken no action and have made no protest regarding the torpedoing, beyond supplying the American Consul with a few affidavits embodying their experiences.

These survivors are divided roughly, into two classes—the first, those who never believed in the possibility of a tragedy and who are almost inarticulate with bitter hatred for Germany; the second, those who took the risk with their eyes open and therefore do not expect their country to take drastic action on their account.

Perhaps the most prominent of the latter class is Dr. Howard L. Fisher, of Washington, who, although condemning the handling of the lifeboats as grossly inefficient, said he knew that he was risking his life in the war zone, and accepted what had happened to him as a matter of course.

"We were warned by the German Government," said he, "and I, for one, do not want any official action by my country."

All express resentful anger that the British Admiralty did not see fit to send a convoy for the ship.—*Gaelic-American,* May 15, 1915.

England and the War.

By PROF. HERBERT C. SANBORN, of Vanderbilt University.

The melodramatic reports of the Associated Press (strictly censured and thus influenced by England) have finally succeeded in arousing the sentimentality of Americans to the point where we also are about ready to attempt what the Sikhs, Gurkhas and other colored races have failed to accomplish. Together with the reports of the *Lusitania* disaster, the slander of the Belgian atrocities is being revived systematically by the Bryce Commission in a last desperate effort to whip America into line.

The critical situation of England was never better shown than in these efforts. The reports have been shrewdly calculated, so as to appeal to the weakness so prominent in our American life of late; and it seems to me that now if ever is the time for us to make one desperate effort to keep cool, particularly since we ourselves are largely responsible for the difficult situation. To understand the present *Lusitania* case we must go back in fact to the fearful, genuine atrocities of the Boer war.

In that war England found herself unable to subdue a people struggling to protect its homes against merciless greed and aggression until she penned up the helpless Boer women and children in concentration camps, in which, according to various estimates, twenty to thirty thousand of them perished miserably of starvation and loathsome disease. The "success" of this plan, which was an absolute infraction of international law (waging war on the civilian population) as well as of the law of humanity, induced England to attempt to carry it out again in the present war as soon as she discovered that the development of the German submarine had made it impossible for her to blockade German ports.

This infraction of international law was protested against by the United States and other neutral nations in a feeble way, but was nevertheless permitted, because, as our Secretary of State alleged, the exigencies of the present war (due to the discovery of the efficiency of the submarine) had rendered new methods of blockade a necessity.

The American cargoes seized under this new regulation were, it is said, to be well paid for; but this does not render the deed of England any the less an infringement of international law, unless, indeed, we are prepared to be commercial enough to admit that the establishment of international laws is a matter of dollars and cents.

This breach of law was followed by the retaliatory measure of Germany, declaring a war zone about the British Isles. This was of course an infraction of international law from the point of view of *ethics* as little justifiable as the deed of England, which had made it a necessity; and hence many people with a fine sense of morality are content to repeat the old saw, that two wrongs do not make one right, and desire to hold Ger-

many "strictly accountable," while permitting English gold to pacify us for the "wrong" that nation has committed.

The moral and intellectual confusion here is, of course, largely due to the fact, manifest to everyone familiar with the rudiments of history, that nations are not governed and never have been governed by high ethical considerations. England is one of the worst offenders in this respect, if it be an offense. Nations have always done what they believe to be to their own advantage; in other words, the highest system of ethics known to them is the English system of ethics for the individual, namely, crass utilitarianism.

International law has always been made in the interest of the strongest nations; it is unfortunately might, not right. That is why private property at sea is still subject to capture and confiscation, while on land this is not the case. This law was made in favor of England, who rules the seas. International law is established largely by precedents in time of war, and it is the influence of the neutral nations at such times that has often decided that the *status quo* shall be preserved or that no wide departures shall be made from the prevailing code.

In the present war we have been the only "neutral" nation of possible influence; and have made an initial mistake in permitting England to violate the code in operation, accepting with perfect *sangfroid* a money equivalent for our so-called protests. We therefore have no "right," that is, it is not consistent, to demand that the German retaliatory measure shall not prevail, that it shall not receive exactly the same treatment as the British measure.

Our protests to these two peoples, if there is still any sense of justice left in our American nation, ought to be protests in exactly the same sense. The violation of one international law is, *per se,* the same as the violation of any other. The fact that lives were lost upon the *Lusitania* is indeed an unfortunate circumstance, but it is only a superficial view or loose morality that cannot realize that loss of life in that case is no more repulsive than the starvation of women and children in Germany, and, as a matter of fact, has nothing whatever to do with the real question involved, which is, to repeat, whether we are willing to treat in a neutral manner the two protests or the two infractions.

If we had adopted an energetic attitude toward England at the beginning instead of waiting somewhat like Micawber to have something turn up, we should have been spared the *Lusitania* disaster. We had the means at hand to bring this about by laying an embargo on arms shipped to England, but refused, apparently out of friendship for England, to avail ourselves of this means.

It is of course our privilege to export arms to belligerents, and Germany did not question this right until we refused in an unneutral manner to demand that England should permit us to trade with other neutral

countries. This is, however, vastly different from the illicit conclusion drawn from this by our administration, when it says that it would be an unneutral act to place an embargo on arms, namely, that we are therefore bound morally or otherwise to avail ourselves of this right. If it is our right, then no other nation, not even England itself, can presume for an instant to state whether we shall exercise it or not; for this would be, as Prof. Burgess, our first authority on international law, has well said, to give up our rights as a sovereign nation. It is, in short, merely a hypocritical subterfuge which permits one to "do as one likes."

On the other hand, all those who prayed for peace in October cannot free themselves from the charge of hypocrisy for their failure to raise a strong protest against this continued exportation of arms. We ought not, in the name of consistency, to pray for peace and then strive to work in opposition to the desires expressed in those prayers. Does the American government put its trust in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania or in Bethlehem of Judea?

England placed an embargo on arms to Germany in the Danish war; Germany, to please us, placed an embargo on arms to Spain in the Spanish war, and we ourselves followed a similar policy toward little Mexico more recently. If we had done the same thing in order to secure our right to trade with neutral countries during this war and to prevent England from ruining the American farmer to the advantage of a few manufacturers in the East, we should not now be facing the serious crisis that now confronts us.

The German government claims that it has positive proof that the *Lusitania* was armed; that it took ammunition on board in violation of American laws; that it had English reservists on board in large numbers; that it carried a large quantity of war material, and that the passengers were duly warned. British merchantmen have already attempted to sink and have sunk submarines by ramming them. The passengers on the *Lusitania* ought to have realized that they assumed great risk in sailing on the vessel.

Great Britain's navy failed to protect the *Lusitania,* and the statement of Richmond P. Hobson that a cousin of his was warned by an official of the Cunard line not to take passage on the boat seems to show that England desired the disaster. She has striven from the very beginning to bring about a situation which should involve us in this war on her side. She wants American volunteers, since she can get few of her own people to risk their lives in the unjust war brought about by and for her aristocracy and the lords of Wall Street.

There can be little doubt that Germany will insist on her right to persist in her course, and we ought, as in the case with citizens in Mexico, to warn our citizens to keep our of the war zone. That Germany should be ready to give up the advantage of her submarine warfare and calmly

submit to the starvation of her women and children by her rival, while we sit quietly by praying for peace, snivelling occasionally about "humanity," and allowing England to make international law with her "silver bullet," is preposterous and unthinkable for anybody who knows the character of this virile nation.

That Germany should be ready to give up the advantage of her submarine warfare and calmly submit to the starvation of her women and children by her rival, while we sit quietly by praying for peace and allowing England to make international law with her "silver bullet," is preposterous and unthinkable for anybody who knows the character of this virile nation.

This is the way it seems to one who looks at the problem, not from the point of view of those who believe that Germany should be destroyed because she has claimed the liberty of the sea, but from the point of view of one who knows what Germany has meant and still means to the world, from the point of view of those who believe that Germany has a right to exist. Mere sentiment is a large factor in our American life, but this grave problem should not be solved in a state of semi-hysteria. It ought not to be, but it may be. *Thut nichts! Der Jude wird verbrannt.*—*Nashville Banner,* May 18, 1915.

Sinking of the Lusitania.

By J. C. R. McCall.

The editorials in the *Banner* of the ooth and 15th instant relative to the sinking of the *Lusitania* were well-timed and to the point. To my way of thinking there was very little if anything in the sinking of the vessel to cause the United States to go to war. Of course everyone regrets exceedingly the loss of life, and more especially the death of the women and little children on board the ill-fated vessel. *The ones who were responsible for the presence of these innocent ones on the vessel are more to blame than the Germans.*

By what course of reasoning any person can come to the conclusion that the Germans should have allowed this vessel to have passed by unmolested is past my conception.

Here was a magnificent passenger vessel prostituted to the use of conveying large quantities of munitions of war to Germany's enemies; here was a vessel which on a former occasion of a like prostitution escaped destruction by the Germans by the cowardly subterfuge of flying the flag of the United States, a neutral country; here was a vessel of the character which England had armed for its own defense and for offense if circum-

stances required it; now is there any rule of international law requiring the Germans to stand by and see this vessel ride safely into harbor laden as she was with war ammunition for German's enemies? If this is international law, the quicker such law is nullified and a more equitable one is formed in its place, the quicker will international law appeal to the sense of justice and mankind.

I do not believe a nation in the world would have done differently from what Germany did under like circumstances. It's a pretty sorry man or nation that will condemn another for doing something which such man or nation would do under like circumstances.

The Americans who took sail on the *Luistania* had full and fair warning that the Germans were going to torpedo that vessel if possible. After such warning those who went on board took the risk upon themselves, and that should be the end of the matter. But it is said that this warning only aggravates the offense; that it shows the destruction of the vessel was premeditated and that they actually lay in wait to destroy it. It is also said that it is no palliation of a crime that the evildoer gives notice of his intention to commit it. That is true if properly applied. In this case, however, there is a state of war existing between Germany and England. That of itself means that each of these countries has announced to the world that it is going to do all the damage possible to the other, even to the taking of each other's life. This destruction, however, is to be carried on under certain rules, which we denominate international law. Under this law the commerce of neutral nations is to be undisturbed, and yet England has systematically, since the war began, pounced upon the commerce of the United States so that our commerce is almost driven from the seas, and yet we hear only feeble protests from our government. The tobacco interests of our country have been practically destroyed by English interference, and yet the protest of our people is disregarded. Why this marked difference on the part of the heads of our government? But it is said the English seize the ships and cargo and do not destroy human lives. This is true, but there is a difference. The English are seizing all kinds of articles of commerce—foodstuffs and whatever happens to find its way on the sea. The English have a tremendous navy, which is able to override all opposition on the open seas. Following an unusual course the English plan is to starve civilian Germany into subjection by intercepting all foodstuffs that might even find its way into Germany. This effort of the English is not confined to foodstuffs shipped from the United States to German ports, but England has arrogantly assumed the right to seize foodstuffs when shipped from the United States to neutral countries. Our government seems to be standing all of these assaults upon our rights with the greatest equanimity; and yet when the Germans do something which can be construed into an invasion of our rights on the most technical grounds we are hurry-flurried into a

veiled threat of war. As for me, who am a plain American citizen, without any reason for prejudice for or against any of the great peoples now at war with each other, I do not consider that our government is observing the evenhanded neutrality it professes.

Germany undoubtedly has the right to destroy English ships with her torpedoes. The only objection is that the Germans did not give the passengers time to disembark. In this case it was impossible to do this. The little submarine with its crew of twenty men was no match for the *Lusitania* with its crew of 600 men, if they had been fighting above the water. If it had signaled the *Lusitania* with a demand that it give itself up to be destroyed it is practically certain the German submarine would have been the vessel destroyed instead of the great *Lusitania*. Then these German submarines had to stand by and see this great English ship sail safely into port loaded down with munitions of war to be used in the destruction of thousands of their countrymen or they had to sink her to the bottom. In the protection of the lives of their kindred and friends and in the interest of their own country, they chose the latter course. Who can blame them?

The use of submarines in war is a new thing. Questions of international law touching their use have never been passed upon. May the Germans not be correct in their construction of the rules of international law as applied to this new condition? At least let us withhold bitter comment and let us not act hastily until this new question is decided in the court of the nations.—*Nashville Banner,* May 18, 1915.

The Cruise of the Lusitania.

By THOMAS C. HALL, D. D. (President of Union Theological Seminary, New York.)

The sinking of the *Lusitania* is a tragedy for which the United States and the Cunard Company are about equally responsible. To permit a ship to carry women and children while loaded to the gunwale with the most powerful explosive known to modern science is a shocking exhibition of lawlessness and greed. No torpedo could have sunk the *Lusitania* in twenty-two minutes had she not had explosives on board to hasten her destruction. Moreover, the weak and wicked permission of our government to coin the blood and losses of the European battlefields into dividends is responsible for the submarine warfare with its attendant losses of civilian life. It was impossible for the submarine to give warning, for they had a right to assume that the *Lusitania* was armed. It was stated in the London press, and boasted about on the streets of New

York. These may have been idle threats, but having been made the German submarine dared take no chances. All neutrals were duly warned to keep off, and if in the spirit of reckless bragadocio they went aboard, it was at their own risk. One is very sorry for the appalling loss of civilian life. At the same time in East Prussia over Thirty Thousand women and children have suffered the ravages of inhuman Cossacks and I have failed to note a tear in the eye of any Anglo-American. Even now this kind of warfare with its savagery could be stopped if the government at Washington were firm, and insisted that England return to her London Declaration and permit the transportation of food and cotton to Germany and belligerent ports, and that Germany give notice to all merchantmen when unarmed and subjected them to search, on condition that we prohibit the exportation of arms and ammunition. We are the only neutral nation that is thus sinning; and while we do this there is no use in our hoping that our word will have any weight for peace in Europe. Lastly men will throw hypocrisy in our faces and refuse to listen to our arguments while we are making money out of Europe's bloodshed. Germany has now shown that her "paper blockade" is no "bluff." The very voices that are now raised in hysteric rage are the ones that taunted Germany with her inability to do what she is now showing she can and will do, until England returns to the traditional usage of civilized naval warfare. It is absurd to hold Germany responsible for the loss of civilian life. Her warnings have been repeated and emphatic. She cannot permit the unhindered transportation of munitions of war. And if English cowardice tries to shelter the traffic by inducing women, children and neutrals to take passage on such war transports, they do it at a criminal risk of life.

Where was the proper protection the British navy should have afforded? Why did not patrol boats meet the *Lusitania,* and even if not in a position to save the ship at least save the passengers? Mr. Churchill, whom Bernard Shaw calls "that loud-mouthed militaristic Junker", has bragged and taunted the German seamen until their patience must be wellnigh exhausted.

Nor must it be forgotten that the sinking of the *Lusitania* saved human life; for the thousand or more who sank with her would have been far outnumbered by those to whom her cargo of ammunition would have probably brought death. So as we extend our heartfelt sympathy to those whose hearts are wrung by the loss of their dear ones; we must also rejoice with the homes whose dear ones are spared by the destruction of the munitions of war before their purpose was effected.

Unless war is to become more, rather than less savage the nations must retrace a series of cruel, blundering steps taken in recent wars. General Weyler's concentration camps for a civil population were small and needless. England's brutal misuse of them in the Transvaal to crush the

Boers cost the lives of twenty-six thousand women and children. Again the attempted embargo on food going to Germany strikes at the civil population and led to Germany's submarine warfare with its dangers to civil population. There is a splendid chance for the United States to call all the contending parties back to a more merciful mode of warfare, but she can only do this on the condition of washing her own hands from the stain of bloodshed by participation in the sale and exportation of all things that kill. The sinking of the *Lusitania* may open up the whole question and thus prove a blessing,, in spite of the tragic losses. But we must act quickly and sharply or all our protests will be in vain.—*Deutsche Zeitung,* Charleston, S. C., May 22, 1915.

Let Us Be Fair.

To the Editor of the Banner:

Now that the English-owned or English-subsidized papers are ransacking the dictionaries in search of expletives to give vent to their feelings of horror and indignation over the sinking of the *Lusitania,* let us in a spirit of fairness look at the other side also. Why has Germany declared the waters around Great Britain a war zone? It has simply followed the example of England, when it declared the North Sea a war zone for the avowed purpose of shutting off all food supplies from Germany, and thus starve it into submission. I read some time ago, when this policy was inaugurated, a boast of one of the leading men in England of the effectiveness of this kind of warfare; it would slowly but surely strangle the enemy, or words to that effect. Now I ask, is it less cruel, less criminal, less barbarous to kill forty millions of women and children by slow starvation than to sink the ship of an enemy, loaded with war materials to the gunwales, on which unfortunately hundreds of passengers had taken passage, despite the warnings of the German government? This government would be only too glad to give up this kind of warfare and has repeatedly offered to do so, if England would allow the entrance of foodstuffs into Germany for its civilian population. England has, however, contemptuously spurned this humane proposal. It prefers to conquer Germany by starving its women and children and then insure its transports of war material and reservists against German attacks by taking on board passengers from neutral countries. And if hundreds of them should perish, what do the lords of England care for that? Not enough to send a warship to meet and protect it as it enters the danger zone.

Much concern has been expressed about the militarism of Germany. But how about the "navalism" of England? Its boast that "Britania rules the waves" it seems so far to have made good, as witness the backing down of this country on the question of tolls on our coastwise ship-

ping. Perhaps if Germany had a string of war vessels along our coast we would speak less glibly of "strict accountability," and be as obsequious to it as we are to England, allowing it to dictate to us what we are to sell to neutral nations, and absolutely forbidding us to do any trading with its enemy. It is humiliating indeed that this great country shall allow itself to be thus bulldozed by Great Britain, especially as we need not go to war in order to assert our independence. Let us say to Great Britain: "You shall have no more supplies of any kind from us until you leave our commerce with neutral nations unmolested and cease your starvation policy against the civilian population of Germany." This would be effective, as over against the lame "protests" of our government, at which England only laughs—and with reason.

Let us quote what William B. Hale, President Wilson's special agent in the Carranza negotiations, recently said on this subject:

'If we bend much more to England there will come recoil of public sentiment, which may result in dangerously strained relations between Great Britain and the United States.

"Great Britain is refusing our ships the use of the sea. She is assuming to deny us the right to sell innocent goods, including foodstuffs, to Germany. England is pressing us harder and harder. We have protested, yet our protests are practically ignored."

Let me repeat that such occurrences as the sinking of the *Lusitania* are deplorable. But let us put the responsibility where it belongs.

Tennessee Ridge, Tenn. J. P. LEAF.

—*Nashville Banner,* May 18, 1915.

An Open Letter to Col. Roosevelt.

By Dr. Edmund von Mach, Author of "What Germany Wants."

Dear Col. Roosevelt:

Even so sincere an admirer of you as I am, feels forced to take issue with you on your protest on the sinking of the *Lusitania.* Germany sent the torpedo that struck the blow, but the deaths of the American passengers were due to the criminal inefficiency of the English Company and to the subsequent explosions of the dangerous cargo.

Primarily, however, their deaths were due to those who permitted the Americans to be on the ship, and who by a word of official warning could have prevented it. The proper officials of our State department are most to blame. But why did not you, Colonel Roosevelt, utter the

word of warning? You could have done it. You would have been heard. That you kept silent is incomprehensible, unless you were ignorant of the facts.

Here are some of them:

There were reservists on the *Lusitania;* and several weeks ago the the British government announced that in the future the Canadian troops would no longer be shipped on special transports but *would be distributed among the passenger steamers.*

Have you ever heard of a more criminal and ruthless procedure? To jeopardize the lives of innocent Americans—women and children, as the papers love to say—because ordinary transports are no longer safe enough.

Where was your protest, Colonel Roosevelt, when this announcement appeared in the papers?

A little while later England ordered her vessels to seek safety by flying the American flag; and when a storm of disapproval arose here, claimed that she had followed the custom of all nations. When she said this she knew that this was not so, and that she herself had seized a tug in 1893 at Rio de Janeiro, when Dr. Charles E. Boynton, an American, had hoisted the British flag to disguise himself from the insurgents. England claimed at that time that her flag had been unlawfully used and the tug been forfeited to her. Her use of the American flag was cowardly and her excuse for her action was false.

Where was your powerful voice, Colonel Roosevelt, then? Why did you not tell the people the truth?

When England knew she could no longer protect her cargoes with the American flag, she protected them with American passengers.

Did you know that the *Lusitania* carried contraband? Ambassador Page has cabled that only one torpedo hit the ship. There were two or three explosions and people were overcome with gases.

Do you approve of passengers going on ships that carry such dangerous cargoes? Would you have let your family sail on such a boat? I have lost two friends on the *Lusitania.* I know the terrible grief in their families. If you had warned the people, none would have gone. Why did you not warn them, Colonel Roosevelt? Were their lives not worth saving?

Or did you think the passage safe, in spite of the dangerous cargo? You surely do not belong in the same class with William Jennings Bryan or his Mephisto, Join Perdition Morgan, who gets a commission from England.

Or did you not know that the Cunard Company itself considered the trip too risky, and refused to sail until the British government had assumed eighty per cent. of the insurance? This fact was ascertainable by Mr. Bryan and by the President. If they had made it known, as was

their moral duty, how many Americans do you think would have taken passage on the *Lusitania?* None. But since they did not do their duty—and neither you nor I believe that Mr. Bryan ever will—why did you not raise your voice? You might have saved these innocent lives!

And what do you think of the Cunard Company, that refused to make the trip unless the government took eighty per cent. of the insurance, because it was too dangerous, but then announced to the American public that there was no danger? The Cunard Company refused to risk its ship, but saw no reason why it should not risk American lives. The company did this merely for sordid gain. Where is your protest against this dastardly course, Colonel Roosevelt?

The German Embassy warned the American public of the danger, and the British and French Embassadors complained of this, and said the trip was safe. Mr. Cecil Spring-Rice knew that the Cunarders considered it so unsafe that the government had to take eighty per cent. of the insurance. Do you call this the act of honorable men? Where is your protest, Colonel Roosevelt?

When the *Lusitania* neared England there were no convoys to conduct her safely into port. As Lord Charles Beresford intimated in Parliament, the British government had ships enough to convoy the transports of horses. For American passengers there were no ships! The British government was ready to sacrifice them. Living, they could protect the nefarious American-English traffic in arms, and dead, they might embroil America into war.

Did you protest against such recklessness, Colonel Roosevelt?

But perhaps you do not believe that England actually hoped that some Americans might be killed, and that the captain of the *Lusitania* courted an attack. Then will you please explain why the captain announced before sailing that his safety from an attack lay in his speed, twenty-five knots, and why he reduced this speed to fifteen knots when he reached the danger zone? Why did he refuse to lower the boats?

Have you no protest against the criminal inefficiency of the Cunard line? It has been claimed that the *Lusitania* listed badly, and that only the boats on one side were available. She carried less than one-quarter of the number of people she can accommodate. Half her boats should have been sufficient. Do you know that some of the collapsible boats were useless because the hinges were rusted, and that at least one raft sank and drowned the people on her? Do you know that one boat was picked up on the Irish coast several days later with all the people in it dead?

Have you no protest against such carelessness, Colonel Roosevelt?

Did you know that a recent order of the British government had made of every British merchantman a war vessel in the legal term of the word? You might have known this if you had gathered more

information than the pro-English press provides. Look at the (British) *Shipping Gazette* of March 26, 1915, and you will see a copy of the letter from the British Admiralty to J. W. Bell, captain of the *Thordis,* complimenting him for having rammed a submarine on March 18 and not only appointing him a lieutenant in the Royal Navy but also decorating him.

Did you protest against turning British merchantmen into war vessels and at the same time continuing to solicit passenger trade?

The *Lusitania* did not only carry dangerous contraband, but she was—even if she carried no guns on this trip—a potential war vessel and subject to immediate attack. Mr. Bryan knew this, and said nothing.

Your only excuse, so far as I can see, is that you did not know these facts. But if you did not know them, you should not have tried to attribute the blame for the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the subsequent loss of life until you had the facts.

The people really responsible for the deaths of the Americans are the Cunard people, who did it for money, the British government who did it as a trick of war, the proper American authorities, who did it because they have sold their souls to England, and England's death-agent, J. P. Morgan, and the American press, who kept the truth of the legal standing of the *Lusitania* from the people.

When the German submarine sent the torpedo the sea was calm, the weather fine, and there were from six to eight hours before dark. The Germans felt morally certain that every life would be saved. And so did the people on shore.

You will agree with me that the conduct of the American government recently has not commanded the respect of the world. The more necessary, therefore, it is that you, Colonel Roosevelt, our foremost citizen, and in the future, I hope, again our leader, should not rashly espouse a wrong cause. Call the really guilty parties murderers, and millions of people will answer you with an "Amen. God bless you, Theodore Roosevelt!"

Very sincerely yours,

EDMUND VON MACH.

—*The Fatherland,* May 26, 1915.

Time for U. S. to Realize the Attitude of England.

Editor *Post:* The time is opportune for the people of the United States to realize England's attitude toward us. Her arrogant impositions have been, especially recently, extremely obnoxious. Although it appears that Germany has received the bulk of the criticisms on account of the sinking of the *Lusitania,* nevertheless, England, by her negligence was practically an accessory to the crime. She claims to be supreme on

the high seas. That being the case, why did she allow more than 1,200 of her own citizens to be within a few miles of her own possessions, in a location that had been declared a war zone, and not afford them any protection whatever against the dangers to which they were subjected? The fact that the *Lusitania* was given no protection may not have been entirely negligence. It is possible that England had an ulterior motive.

JOSEPH ADKINS, JR.

A Plain Answer.

This is the reply that an American sent to the *Evening Mail,* which editorially inquired where the German-Americans stood on the *Lusitania* case: "I stand on the plain American platform that if a man hits me I hit back; if he gets six others to help him, including savages, I grab the first thing that comes to hand and let him have it; if he then draws a line around my house to starve me and my family, I dig a tunnel under his house and blow him up, even if he has invited company."—*The Fatherland,* May 26, 1915.

Suggests England May Have Allowed Ship Sunk.

Editor *Post:* Is it not possible that England has allowed the *Lusitania* to be destroyed in the hope that thus the United States might be embroiled in this war? Does she not believe that it will be easier to persuade American citizens to enlist in her fight than it has been to get British subjects to volunteer? Would not the American public be more keen to help her if she commanded the respect and devotion of her own subjects—if the "1,000,000 men by October 1" called for by Lord Kitchener last summer had mounted up to 2,000,000 instead of falling short at 540,000 men?

Washington Has Two Ways.

Former Governor Colquitt Finds There Is One for Mexico and Another for England.

Austin, Tex., May 17.—Former Governor O. B. Colquitt is in Austin on private business. Regarding President Wilson's note to Germany, he said:

"I do not believe there will be war; in fact, I am thoroughly convinced on that point.

"Our attitude has indeed been a peculiar one in this *Lusitania* affair. When American men were being murdered, American women outraged and whole American families facing starvation, and the loss of the savings of a life-time in Mexico, our Government invited Americans to come out of Mexico. And when many of them had come to Tampico to be removed to the United States in response to our Government's invitation to leave that country, our own battleships drew away from Tampico, and it was a German commander who cleared his decks and gave notice that unless Americans were protected he would shell the town.

"Now the *Lusitania* is sunk and American lives are lost. But the *Lusitania* was an English vessel carrying munitions of war. The Americans aboard that boat, or many of them, were going to Europe in an endeavor to sell the Allies more supplies. They had been warned not to go to Europe, but they heeded not that warning.

"It reminds me that former Senator Joe Bailey used the illustration that a man might go down the street and know that if he went he would encounter a riot and get into trouble; he had the choice of turning away from the riot or walking into it. That illustration is an apt one. We have invited our people to come out of trouble in Mexico and we have taken no serious action, and yet because some of our citizens have walked into trouble after they have been warned of the consequences, there is talk of war."—*Gaelic-American,* May 29, 1915.

An American Citizen of Pro-Allies Sentiment.

Let Americans Stay Home Until War Ends, He Urges

Editor *Post:* I have come to the conclusion, as most people have in our community, that the captain was much responsible for the deaths on the *Lusitania.* It looks like a case of trying a double-shell ship against submarine warfare.

I further see it in this light: Our American men, women and children and all other passengers, sailed after warning from the German Ambassador not to sail, as this ship was liable to be torpedoed. They sailed partly on advice from the officers of the Cunard Steamship Company.

Of course, America is in mourning on account of the accident, but the only thing I see to do is to notify people not to attempt to cross the Atlantic until after the war. We should stop all passenger boats from entering our ports for a load of our people to carry off in the ocean and have drowned and blown up by other nations.

Rocky Mount, N. C. F. WILSON.

—*Washington Post,* May 31, 1915.

Let Question of Fact Be Determined First.

Captain Hobson Counsels Judicial Investigation Before Condemning Germany.

Syracuse, N. Y., June 1.—Captain Richmond P. Hobson has sent the following telegram to President Wilson:

"Referring to Germany's reply note, permit me respectfully and earnestly to renew my previous recommendation that you determine the questions in fact by calling a regular court of inquiry, as did President McKinley on the destruction of the *Maine* and President Cleveland in his Venezulean message.

"The German note raises distinct questions of fact, maintaining the *Lusitania* was under British admiralty orders to ram submarines, was in effect a submarine destroyer and otherwise engaged in war operations, transporting men and materials.

"If this contention is correct, our government has no standing in international law for demanding a disavowal. Furthermore, Germany expresses regret for the loss of innocent life and contends that internal explosion and other contributing causes of English and even criminal origin are chiefly responsible. If this contention is correct, our government hasn't even the general ground of humanity to stand on.

NO TIME FOR DECISION UNTIL FACTS ARE SETTLED.

"Until these questions of fact are determined through judicial investigation, history and sobered humanity would condemn us, our government and our people for persisting in our demands for disavowal. Obviously we cannot insist on our other demands for the abandonment of submarine warfare any more than we could demand an abandonment of dreadnought warfare, or aerial warfare, or torpedo warfare. Enemy merchant vessels under orders to attack gunboats, destroyers, cruisers or battleships, or otherwise engaged in war operations, whether using the ram, or gun, or other weapon, could not expect and would not receive the warning and immunity accorded non-resisting vessels engaged in innocent commerce.

"When well settled principles of international law are applied to submarine warfare, as I have urged you to have them so applied, by our Supreme Court, then warning and immunity of life doubtless will be exacted from submarines only when the non-resistance of enemy merchant vessels is guaranteed.

"Our public opinion is temporarily the victim of incendiary press propaganda operated from London, with all opportunity for hearing the other side cut off. The obvious object is to embroil America on the side of Great Britain and her Allies in the European war, for the avowed

purpose of destroying Germany. The history of destroying the Southern Confederacy will give some conception of the magnitude of such a task. Five to ten years is the shortest period that could be hoped for, and five to ten millions of American soldiers fighting in foreign lands is the least part we could certainly have to take, while the ultimate brunt of the financial sacrifices would fall upon our shoulders and we would throw away our manifest destiny as a non-military nation, the common friend of all nations, the peace-maker of the world.

PEOPLE DO NOT WANT HIM TO DO WRONG.

"Mr. President, under no conditions would the American people wish their President to do wrong. They are temporarily deceived, but you are not. The demands you have made clearly cannot be complied with by Germany. The papers foreshadow your insisting upon them without regular investigation by judicial procedure. This would mean war of your own choice and seeking. I cannot believe this true, for when the knowledge of the full truth finally dawned upon the people, sobered by the awful sacrifices of the bloody, brutal task, they would curse those responsible for the fatal step.

"No one can rightfully object to regular procedure to judicially determine the truth. When the facts are thus finally determined, you can then, if so justified, renew your demands or modify or withdraw them. This is the path of truth, of honor, of peace. May wisdom come to you, and strength from above, that you may be true to yourself, true to your country, true to your God."—*Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch,* June 2, 1915.

Their Own Risk.

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir,—Permit me to say that I honor Mr. Bryan for having the courage of his convictions in standing up boldly for what he believed to be the right way of settling our dispute with Germany over the sinking of the *Lusitania,* and of accepting the sensible suggestion that Americans keep out of danger by not traveling upon enemy ships or in the war zone. If they chose to do so, it's their own risk. Germany has shown a disposition to make reparation whenever she has been in the wrong, and I can see no good reason for discounting her intention to follow the same policy in the future. If our contention about the *Lusitania* and the *Frye* is right, we ought not to be afraid to submit the matter to arbitration, and in so doing set an example to the world that our theory is backed up by our practice. WILLIAM W. FISKE.

Philadelphia, June 9, 1915.

—*Philadelphia Ledger,* June 11, 1915.

The Speed Question.

Reynold A. Spaeth, of Clark College, takes a radically different view of the destruction of the *Lusitania* from Mr. Taylor. Granting, as we must, that the ship was carrying munitions of war for the Allies to be used against the Germans, he declares, "depots of arms and war material may be destroyed without warning if for military reasons immediate action is necessary and no delay can be allowed the enemy." He continues:

"War must be primarily effective. In the case of the *Lusitania,* the observations of the rules of humanity would have rendered war ineffective. When a submarine attempts the 'capture' of a vessel of approximately her own speed or slower she may, after warning the vessel to stop, follow her until she does stop. If in this case the challenged vessel attempts to escape she may legitimately be torpedoed. The *Lusitania,* as we know, depended upon her speed to escape submarin attacks. It is a physical impossibility for a vessel of her size, running at full speed, to stop at the order of a submarine. Even if it were possible instantly to reverse her engines, her initial velocity would still be so great that she would pass the challenging submarine, even though the latter should follow at full speed. And once beyond her adversary under these circumstances, there would be nothing to prevent her ordering full speed ahead."—*The Fatherland,* June 9, 1915.

Answers Hall Cain.

German Attack on Lusitania Was Justified, Writer Contends.

Washington, D. C., May 27, 1915.

Hall Caine, Esq., London, England.

Dear Sir: There appeared in nearly all our national dailies recently a letter from you in which you asked what America thinks of the sinking of the *Lusitania.*

We think about it with the same awful horror that we do of the whole fiendish war that is now being waged in Europe. We do not differentiate much between these diversified horrors that are continually served up to us by the bureaucratic press agents of Europe. Those of us who are still sane enough to think with our brains and not with our passions, and who have stopped to consider with a sober second thought about this most recent tragedy of war, believe that the United States and Great Britain are probably more responsible for the *Lusitania* disaster than any other government or governments.

DRAWS PARALLEL CASE.

We will suppose that England and America are at war (and America has the same specific causes to go to war with England to-day that she had in 1812-1814); we will suppose that England is sending to Canada munitions of war in the bottoms of her fleetest and most capacious ships, also soldiers and reservists, who, with these munitions of war, are to meet American soldiers on the battlefields, also to bombard American towns and cities and destroy thousands of innocent lives of non-combatants; we will suppose that we have a President who is as gentle and as genuine a Christian as our present President Wilson. As commander-in-chief of the army and navy, after repeated warnings given England that she must cease protecting her munitions of war, which she is shipping to Canada, by placing on board those ships (which, for all practical purposes have been converted into auxiliary cruisers) innocent non-combatants as passengers from a neutral country, if the President did not order our submarines to lay in wait along the highway of the seas where these vessels are plowing their course through to Canada, and blow them out of the waters, he would be impeached out of office.

THREAT TO STARVE GERMANY.

America has always believed in the "square deal" and professed to be especially the champion of fair play. Let us ask what we would do if placed in the same position that Germany finds herself to-day. England has an effectual blockade around Germany and has announced to the world that she is going to starve the German nation to the death. Germany must use the most defensive weapons of retaliation she has against her enemies. These are obviously her submarines. Are submarines a fixture in government armament for the protection of the rights of a nation and for use as engines of destruction in time of war? If they are not, then let us stop our hypocrisy and take our submarines and blow them to smithereens and declare to the world that our Christian profession instead of being a hollow sham and veneer is the real article.

All highly civilized nations have submarines. They certainly have not been constructed for carrying apples and cabbages to market, nor for the pleasure and pastime of the people as playthings. They were designed and have been built for the very purpose to which all the nations now at war are employing them with their keenest energy and most desperate determination—to kill and destroy.

BORN OF ENGLISH HATE.

Many of us think, Mr. Caine, who are still capable of intelligently thinking at all, that this cruel, awful, blood-letting war was born in the black heart of hate; and those who have been going in and

out of the clubs and cafes of London, Liverpool, Toronto and Montreal for the past ten years, and particularly the past five years, and who have constantly heard Englishmen feeding their hearts on envy, jealousy and hatred of Germany, could not but predict the inevitable result—a war—a murderous war against Germany.

Some of us believe that England is wholly and solely responsible for this war, and that the supreme underlying cause that prompted her to plot and plan this war for years is her eternal alpha and omega determination to maintain commercial and financial supremacy over all the world. She sets herself up to be the Nebuchadnezzar among the nations. If she cannot bully or euchre a country out of any trade advantages it may possess over her, then, in keeping with her world policy, she will absorb or destroy it.

CAN STOP WAR NOW.

Some of us believe, Mr. Caine, that your government represented by Sir Edward Grey, Winston Churchill, David Lloyd George, not to say anything of your king, had it wholly in your power to prevent this war; and they certainly have it in their power to stop it any day they see fit. But the nation's hate is aroused. The awfulness of this hate appalls us over here as we see the supposedly Christian civilization of Europe going down in wreck and ruin. We are horrified when we read that your lord bishops of London and Marlborough gather their murderous brood under their ecclesiastical wings and then dare to call upon God to help them hate more and kill more Germans. This war has demonstrated that the Christian religion with its idealism represented in the Prince of Peace is not sufficient to restrain human passions or direct and maintain peaceable government relations. The words of the poet seem to have at last come true—

"There is no good
There is no God,
And faith is a horrid cheat;
That bares the back to the Devil's rod
And scatters thorns for the feet."

You will have to rewrite "The Christian," Hall Caine, and let me suggest for the new title "The Confucian." The Buddhist faith represented by the Chinese people does not believe in war. They prefer to give up some things to Japan rather than embroil their country in war and visit desolation upon their people.

SEEKS TO STARVE GERMANY.

You complain bitterly and almost cringingly against the submarine warfare which Germany is waging, but you had it in your power to

stop that mode of warfare when Germany asked you to desist from your fiendish purpose to starve more than 100,000,000 of her women, children and old men; she merely asked that you let foodstuffs go through to feed her people, whom you propose to starve into subjection or to the death. We say to you that better a hundred *Lusitanias* go down than that a civilization like that of Germany be wiped off the map of the world.

Hall Caine, we say to you this war has no moral justification in the conscience of the world.

Those of us who have traveled and studied carefully as we traveled have thought much upon this great war holocaust, and we have studied the civilizations that are represented in it, and we make our definition of what civilization is, out of the products in the arts and sciences and character of the individual units of each nation so represented; and we infinitely prefer the gentle civilization of Germany to the licentious civilization of France, the brutal civilization of England (that would starve a nation of women, children, and old men to death), the medieval civilization of Russia, or the treacherous civilization of Italy.

FIX BLAME FOR WAR.

We who have traveled and studied as we traveled and sat at the firesides of the people of these various civilizations in their homes know something of the character of the individual units of these several nations; and, despite the fact that you have filled our newspapers over here with venal vituperation of Germany, abominable lies from your venomous hearts, the truth is gradually coming to us, at least to the extent that we know where to fix the chief responsibility for the war.

Germany gets up too early in the morning to suit the average Britisher, in fact she beats you up by two hours every morning, and instead of sacrificing the last end of each week from business to "week-end parties," which usually degenerate into drunken revelry, she persists in working and continuing her business as usual up to the last hour of her quitting time Saturday night. Because of these rather unusual habits of industry and application, she has been outstripping England and other nations, also, in trade and commerce the world around, until the cry has been sent out by England and through English Allies to all the world —Germany must be crushed. Even my own country I am ashamed to admit is perceptibly and considerably inoculated with the hate virus— "Made in Germany."

ENGLAND HATES UNITED STATES.

Any nation that England cannot bully she hates, and I say to you now that those of us who are honest and who are in a position to know, know full well that England hates the United States almost as much, if

not quite as much, as she does Germany. For years you have called us a nation of "mongrels" without any "pedigree or pride of ancestry," and some of us can never forget that you have always from the beginning of our history been our natural enemy, and that Germany has ever since the beginning of our history been our traditional friend. It is about time, we think, that this sniveling, groveling hypocrisy should end, and we advise that you tack about, if you want to keep our respect, and begin to tell the truth as the truth actually exists about this frightful war, which British authorities had more responsibility for starting than any other nation.

Such heinous reports as that of the Bryce commission fall on our ears as dead ashes. We do not believe one word of it, those of us who are familiar with German people and German character all our lives. You are quite right in trying to do everything in your power to hold the world's public opinion with you, but I say to you it is gradually departing wholly from you. The truth will out and the loathsome, infamous calumnies you are heaping upon Germany will react to plague you mightily in the end.

AMERICANS SHIELD CONTRABAND.

Some of us think that the American government and the British government are wholly responsible for the appalling *Lusitania* tragedy, for the reason that it was notorious for months that these British ships were loaded on every trip with munitions and contraband of war, and with the repeated warnings of Germany it was the duty of the American government to demand through the British embassy at Washington that when the *Lusitania* was ready to sail she should either take the ammunition and contraband of war out of her bottom or take the passengers out of her cabins before getting clearance papers from any American port.

Some of us believe that it was willful neglect of the British government not to send out cruisers and torpedoes to convoy the *Lusitania* in, and that it was cowardly in England to depend upon the innocent women and children aboard the ship to safely transport the munitions and contraband of war she knew to be in the bottom of that great ship.

These, Mr. Caine, are some of the things that some of us are thinking about, and we think you should know it. We are not palliating the dreadful act of Germany, but we do feel that Germany was acting within her rights after she had been duly warned by England that she was to be starved to death when she used the only weapon available to her—her submarines—to prevent such a frightful calamity to her people. Of my personal knowledge there was $250,000 worth of shrapnel on board the *Lusitania*.

JOKED ABOUT SUBMARINES.

One of my friends and his wife went down with the *Lusitania.* I said to him before sailing, "For God sake, do not take such a risk. If you must take it, do not take your wife along." He said to me that he had the captain's assurance that even if they were torpedoed the *Lusitania* would stay afloat and could readily be beached without the probable loss of a single life. He was a man of large means, and admitted that he had no special business on the other side, and he jocularly remarked that it would be a novel experience to be torpedoed, providing they could "safely get away with it." I say that such people should be restrained from going aboard any of the ships that are known to carry ammunition.

The people sailing on the *Lusitania* for the most part did nothing before the ship left but joke about submarines. In the name of heaven, what can be thought of people who jest over such a risk as they knew themselves to be taking. I say to you that they should all have been restrained as being unable and unfit for the care of their individual persons, and our government has a fearful responsibility in this world tragedy.

Yours for fair play, and an honest judgment upon all the guilty ones.

GEORGE V. FERGUSON.

—*Washington Post, June* 13, 1915.

Water-Tight Compartments on Lusitania Imperfect.

Editor *Post:* On April 15, 1912, the White Star liner *Titanic* rammed an iceberg, floated for over four hours, then sank, with a loss of 1,513. She floated long enough, owing to her water-tight compartments, with which every modern ocean steamer is provided, to have saved every one on board, had the ship been provided with suitable life-saving apparatus and had the captain of another ship, named at the time, done his duty. The *Lusitania* was struck by one (so a number of passengers testified) torpedo, and there was an internal explosion. But it is reasonable to suppose she, too, would have floated plenty long enough that all on board had been saved if her water-tight compartments were in order and promptly operated. Captain Turner testifies, as reported, that ten seconds after the ship was struck one could not stand on her decks. Dr. Howard Fisher, of Washington, reports, as per another Washington paper, quite differently. Who is telling the truth—the commander of the British naval reserve ship *Lusitania,* whose government seems bound to drag us into this war, or our Washington fellow citizen, who was a passenger on board the ship?

FREDERIC EGNER.

—*Washington Post,* June 21, 1915.

Says Ocean Travelers Should Have Been Warned.

Editor *Post:* Unquestionably citizens of the United States have a right under international law to use a British vessel on the high seas to travel through a war zone, but the citizens of the United States have also a right to use common sense. The question, then, is: Did those citizens on the *Lusitania* know that that British vessel was carrying 5,400 cases of ammunition; and, if so, did they also know that that fact in itself constituted, according to international law, a challenge to capture or a "defi" against destruction from submarines? In either case it meant more or less danger to the men, women and children on board. If they did not know the risk they were incurring under international law, then who was responsible for such criminal neglect, wherein the lives of those men, women and children were exposed to such danger without warning? It seems that the absence of warning to our citizens against traveling on the high seas through a danger zone is in strong contrast to the warnings by this government to our citizens against traveling through a danger zone on land—for instance, in Mexico. To illustrate this point, the former Secretary of State declares that in case of riot the citizens are warned to keep off the streets, not because they have no right there, but because people should not pass through a danger zone when rioters are shooting at each other.

C. P. MOORE.

—*Washington Post,* June 21, 1915.

Ban on Munition Sale.

U. S. Neutrality Not at Stake, Says Mr. Eustis.

Editor *Post:* There is a general idea in this country that the administration has stated that the prohibition of the exportation of munitions of war from the United States to the so-called Allies would be contrary to the laws of neutrality. This idea is fixed in the minds of many people and the administration is being quoted freely as the authority for this statement. That it actually made such a statement is to be doubted, for no one knows better that it is not only absurd but false. Nevertheless, the fact remains that such a doctrine has been inferred, and it remains for the administration, in justice to the people of this country, to let it be distinctly understood that an act of Congress giving the President the authority to stop the exportation of munitions of war would not in any way be an unneutral act, nor could it be fairly construed as an unfriendly one by any of the Allies. The President proclaimed our neutrality and called on all citizens of this country to observe the same

to the best of their abilities, and yet millions of dollars' worth of ammunition have been shipped to the Allies and we have been engaged in a traffic which has caused the death and mutilation of thousands of men of a nation with whom we are supposed to be on friendly terms.

RIGHT TO STOP SALE.

Granted that according to international law, we have a perfect right to sell munitions of war to any belligerent, and that such an act cannot be construed by any nation as unneutral; but, according to American law, Congress has a perfect right to stop that sale of munitions of war to any nation, belligerent or otherwise, without impairing in the slightest degree our neutrality, and this is what the administration should see that the American people thoroughly understand, and thus remedy the false impression that has been given. As to the moral question, whether or not we as a republic, at peace with the world, should be engaged in a traffic against human life is another matter—unfortunately—outside of international law, and to be settled only by the sentiment of the American people, according to their consciences; but I venture to say that if this question was referred at present to the people, directly or through their representatives, that traffic would be stopped immediately. Perhaps as a nation we worship the money god very thoroughly and very consistently, but there is no man or company of men in this country that would dare to object to such a righteous and humane measure if it was proposed in Congress and supported, as it should be, by the President, whose duty is to preserve our national honor as well as our neutrality.

LUSITANIA WAR VICTIM.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* has struck horror to the hearts of thousands of people; yet, right or wrong, it was an act of war and committed to bring about indirectly an end to that war. But what have we been doing and what are we doing now? Manufacturing and selling munitions of war and causing the death and mutilation of thousands of citizens of a friendly nation, and for what reason? For the filthy gold it brings into our pockets, and because we have the excuse for which the administration is partly to blame, that there is no law to prevent us! A false impression has been created, and one that bears the direct sanction of the administration, which is morally responsible to this country for allowing this degrading traffic in arms to continue. What have we to do with the rights of England as against those of Germany, except where they concern our interest? What business is it of ours if Germany was prepared for war and England was not? That Germany sold arms to Great Britain during the Boer war and to Turkey during her

war with Italy should not influence us in our duty to humanity or justify our following her example.

The administration should put itself right before the public and convene Congress, and it would soon find out the will of the people and how long they will tolerate this national disgrace.

GEORGE P. EUSTIS.

—*Washington Post,* June 21, 1915.

Unto Caesar.

The attitude of our government in regard to the protection of the lives of American citizens at sea, assumed at the inception of the war, was one which commented itself to all of us. The impression has been allowed to gradually possess itself of the American mind, however, that a distinction has been made between the value of an American life lost on the *Lusitania* and one lost on the *Armenian* or the *Anglo-Californian.*

I confess that I am unable to indoctrinate myself into the fine niceties of any such distinction.

Are American lives less sacred when they are sacrificed by the unwarranted action of a British merchant captain than when they are snuffed out by the commander of a German submarine? And if so, why? I am puzzled by the distinctions observed in our treatment of wireless stations in this country and submarine cables laid from it and those which have been drawn between the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania* and the *Anglo-Californian.*

A merchantman has the undoubted right under international law to attempt to escape from an enemy vessel of war, even after he has been challenged and ordered to stop, but when by so doing American lives are imperilled and eventually are sacrificed the responsibility rests not upon the submarine commander or Germany but upon the merchant captain and, in the last analysis, upon the British government, which has instructed the officers of its merchant marine to adopt tactics inconsistent with the character of non-combatant ships.

We have heard, however, not one word from Washington against these methods, not a syllable of protest to Great Britain on account of the lives lost through their adoption.

It is a duty of our government to warn American citizens against endangering their lives and the peace of this country by entrusting themselves to British ships and it is equally a duty of the government to take notice of the unprecedented and unwarranted instructions given by the British government to its merchant commanders.

The administration has demanded protection for American lives from Germany: are we to ask no protection for them from Great Britain?

Are we to be invited to convince ourselves that the protection of the lives of American citizens is a duty only when it can be employed to hamper Germany in her submarine warfare? That our sole purpose is to pawn the bodies of Americans that ships weighted with munitions may ride safely into the harbors of England?

The life of an American citizen is always sacred. It should and must be protected against any and all who would unlawfully or unwarrantedly take or endanger it. There can be no exception to this rule nor in the application of it.

HERMAN RIDDER.

X.

Neutral Views.

An Anti-German Opinion About England.

How deep the impression is which was caused by the defeat which England suffered in the sinking of the *Lusitania* is proved by an editorial of the Anti-German Danish newspaper *Extrabladet.* According to a telegram from Copenhagen this paper writes:

"Why should this torpedoing have been worse than anything else that happens in war? Doesn't it happen every day that women and children are killed, when a city is bombarded? It is therefore only hypocrisy, hysteria, or thoughtlessness when England, France, Russia and America now are shocked. The Russian atrocities against women and children, the English treatment of Germans in their colonies, and the dealings of the French in Morocco are certainly known to all the world. Why then now this cry of horror? The only viewpoint in the conduct of war is whether such conduct is effective. It is true it should not surprise us that the English and Americans now cry out about the German deed. He who has been hit always cries out, but we who are impartial certainly cannot view the matter from such a standpoint if we want to preserve for ourselves the right of independent thinking.

"The thought which comes to us first of all while considering the dreadful catastrophe is one of contempt for English boasting. That England could not prevent the sinking of the *Lusitania,* therein is nothing contemptible in spite of her enormous fleet; what, however, does fill us with contempt are the carelessness and foolish pride with which in all circles in England and America the German warnings were treated. When everything is in the best of order a certain amount of cockiness may be pardonable, but the trouble is that in England things were not in good shape. The English Admiralty, although it has at its disposal the strongest sea power on earth, is powerless against German submarines which creep up beneath the surface of the ocean, and at the right moment strike and strike again.

"Oh, England, you, the proud queen of the oceans, where has your sovereignty gone? Powerless, with your hands in your lap, you must perceive the invisible German boats rule your own waters. Of what help to you are your proud cruisers, your irresistible dreadnoughts, all

the pomp and circumstance of your maritime grandeur? They are useless, absolutely useless against the kind of warfare which the Germans have chosen and which they execute with such brilliant efficacy.

"But, it is asked, what sense is there in torpedoing a great peaceful vessel with 1,500 peaceful people on board? In reply to this it might be said first, that according to German views and assertions the *Lusitania* was an armed auxiliary cruiser, a part of the British fleet, and then in reply the question might be asked: Why did all these peaceful people, women and children, take passage on a war vessel? But besides this, the destruction of the *Lusitania* is a very effective war-deed as a link in the endeavor to isolate England. Even though the possibility of a *complete* isolation should be denied, still the way to such an isolation leads through deeds like the torpedoing of the *Lusitania.* THERE IS NO OTHER WAY. And how should Germany furthermore otherwise prevent the importation of war material? Absolutely surprising is the sureness with which the German submarines work! Even though one does not like the Germans much, still one is forced to admire the German technique, energy and initiative."

The Lusitania Case.

From Various Sources.

The *Svenska Morgenbladet* of Stockholm expresses what I believe to be the prevalent opinion in European neutral countries regarding the sinking of the *Lusitania.* The spiteful language indulged in by the American press toward Germany in reference to the *Lusitania* is not becoming in a country which allowed American citizens to travel on that vessel, virtually as protectors of a cargo of ammunition. America is herself accessory to the sinking of the ship, and thereby forfeits from a moral standpoint all right to complain. If she declares war, she can injure Germany no more than she has already done by her *neutral* shipments of war material. Wilson's attitude is that of a powerful partisan, favoring England at the expense of Germany. He has done nothing to check England's efforts to starve the German people, although he knows that the cessation of the war of starvation would mean the end of the submarine war on merchant ships." Another Swedish paper, the Stockholm *Aftonbladet* writes: "Germany had foreseen that the *Lusitania* would take on board war material, and she addressed a serious warning to the United States through her ambassador. That is what we call acting correctly and honorably. If the 5,400 cases of munitions which the *Lusitania* was carrying, each contained 1,000 cartridges, it would make a total of 5,400,000 shots, which might have destroyed at least 150,000 Germans. In times of war, as in times of peace, it is forbidden to convey travelers on ships which have

ammunitions on board. Germany, having given the necessary warning, England knew perfectly the risk she was running, and it is incomprehensible that she treated so inhumanly the passengers who did not understand the danger. The English Admiralty should have prohibited the transportation of passengers on such vessels." The *El Debate* of Madrid holds the same opinion, and says: "England desired to starve all Germany without regard to women and children, or even to the neutrals who live in that country. One should think of that, when one is passing judgment on the catastrophe of the *Lusitania.*" *La Tribuna* of Madrid also points out the absolute criminality of the Cunard Line, which did not hesitate, in spite of warnings by Germany, to take passengers on board an armed ship carrying contraband of war. It considers Germany's action absolutely justified. Other neutrals express the same conclusions. For example, Dr. Kuyper, former president of the Hague Council writes in the *Standard:* "The public opinion which commences to prevail here frees Germany from responsibility, and places it principally on the passengers who had been warned and might have crossed the Atlantic on steamers of the Holland line; secondly, on the furnishers of war material who used the aforesaid passengers as a living shield to guarantee the sure transportation to England of arms and munitions, sold to her at a high price; and, finally, on England herself, who had armed the *Lusitania.*" To quote from three other Holland journals, *De Residentiebode, Het Vaderland* and the *Rotterdamsche Courier* would be practically to repeat the above ideas. The *Anzeiger de Basle,* Switzerland, says: "We must bear in mind that the Cunard Line has boasted of the security offered by its steamers because they were armed. This is in absolute contradiction to the denial published by the English Admiralty in reference to the *Lusitania.* But even admitting that this steamer was not armed, it was unquestionably an auxiliary cruiser of the English fleet, and by reason of that fact the owners of the *Lusitania* pocketed yearly large sums of money which the British Government paid as subsidy. This quality made the *Lusitania* a ship of war * * * and justifies fully the action of the German submarines. All the reproaches uttered concerning the loss of so many lives ought justly to be addressed to the company, which permitted this ship to carry passengers, despite the fact that it was an auxiliary cruiser. One must blame the spirit of commercial greed, which places money-returns above all sentiment of responsibility. Moreover the passengers who trusted their lives to such a ship are themselves not without fault." The *Tagblatt* of St. Gallen, Switzerland, writes: "Once more a cry goes up against German barbarism because the German empire acts energetically against an auxiliary cruiser, bringing to the Allies war material delivered by a neutral State, and also because Germany's weapons are stronger than those of her adversary. If trans-Atlantic travelers mock at dangers of which they have been warned so loyally by Germany, it is

their affair. They act at their own risk and peril." Most of the Swiss papers adopt a similar tone. It is evident to one who reads the press of European neutral lands that they not only do not share the views of the anglicized New York press and its echoes in America, but that they look on the United States Government as practically a well-paid mercenary in the employ of the Triple Entente, and regard President Wilson as more or less of an ally of England."—(Quoted by John L. Stoddard in *Issues and Events* of October 30, 1915.)

XI.

English Comments

Version of Boat Orders.

May Have Been Due to Momentary Feeling That Ship Was Safe.

London, Tuesday, May 10.—A Queenstown dispatch to *The Times* says:

"There is a curious statement made independently by two American passengers, that an order was received not to launch the boats.

"In one case the passengers already in the boat got out, and in the other case the narrator threatened to shoot any man who tried to prevent the lowering of the boat.

"Some light is, perhaps, thrown on this incident by the statement that after the ship had tilted over to a sharp angle, she remained for a time in that position, and, bearing in mind all that had been said and written about the *Lusitania's* water-tight compartments, and double skin, some of the passengers thought that she was really unsinkable.

"These points and others of which rumor whispers will, no doubt, be elucidated in good time."—*New York Times.*

Germany Will Atone in Blood and Tears.

Prominent Men of Great Britain Bitter in Their Criticism of Lusitania's Sinking.

London, May 7.—The following messages on the sinking of the *Lusitania* from prominent men of Great Britain were received to-night:

Lord Weardale, president of Anglo-American Peace Centennial Committee: "Language is inadequate to condemn the atrocious criminals who have deliberately adopted piracy and the murder of innocent civilians as the methods of warfare. The conscience of Christian Germany will protest against it."

Admiral Cyphrian Bridge: "At sight this outrageous crime, outdoing the acts of the cruelest pirates ever known, seems to have been de-

liberately perpetrated, with the intention of defying and exasperating the American people. Considering the warning given Germany by the United States government, it is hardly conceivable that the United States will abstain from punishing the crime and preventing its repetition by forcible means."

Lord Sydenham, former governor of Bombay: "Americans will now realize the depth of German barbarism, and respond to the call of humanity."

Sir Gilbert Parker: "Germany has fulfilled her promise. She has committed the crime she declared she would commit. That it is an infamous crime the whole world will agree. It is an international business, and not England alone will take note of it. The United States will have something to say in regard to the destruction of life and property, which, in one sense, is as much hers as Great Britain's.—*Richmond Times-Dispatch,* May 8, 1915.

Denies Convoy is Possible.

But London Expert Admits Patrol Feasible—Wonders at Ship's Course.

London, May 10.—The *Chronicle* naval correspondent, discussing the loss of the *Lusitania,* says:

"We are brought to a critical question that will be asked. Might the murderous attack have been frustrated? Some persons seem to think that the Admiralty should have established a convoy for the *Lusitania,* but a little consideration will show that this would have been impossible. We cannot convoy every ship of the thousands which arrive in or depart from our waters. No owners would wish to have their vessels collected in groups and convoyed by a few warships, and if this were done the submarines would desire no better target than a squadron of liners and cruisers approaching the channel or leaving it at the speed of the slowest among them.

"Obviously the days of a convoy in the old sense passed away with the sailing ship era. A patrol is another matter, and certainly we may give the Admiralty credit for having taken every precaution that is possible to avert the disaster.

"One fact, which has already attracted attention, is that the *Lusitania* was sunk a few miles from the old head of Kinsale and upon or within a short distance of her customary course. Into this matter we cannot enter, but obviously the best means to frustrate a submarine's attack is for vessels to proceed at high speed and upon varying and unknown courses. A submarine is blind at night and at a disadvantage in the daylight. It

is necessary that she should see her target, and if the intended victim does not come her way she will be foiled.

"The tactics of submarine warfare have always directed attention to this matter. It has been pointed out that the best opportunities arise in case of a ship's approaching the harbor or intending to enter some strait or inlet, the submarines lying in wait to attack them. Happily the commander of the *Lusitania* has been saved from the disaster and may be able to throw some light upon the course which the *Lusitania* steamed. Was the declaration of the German Embassy in Washington treated as mere brutum fulmen?"—*New York Times.*

XII.

American Comments.

Prominent Statesmen on Lusitania Case.

General Opinion that Americans Took Their Lives in Their Hands as Passengers of Enemy Ship.

Vice-President Marshall said that anyone who puts his foot on a ship flying the English flag is practically on English soil.

Captain Turner, commander of the *Lusitania,* said: "Well, it is the fortune of war."

Senator T. J. Walsh: "Our citizens must yield to the warning given to keep out of the waters surrounding Great Britain or we must take the other alternative and make war. I am not yet prepared to declare that either interest or honor requires that we choose the latter."

Senator Wm. J. Stone, Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations: "American citizens, it must not be forgotten, went aboard a belligerent ship with full knowledge of the risk and after official warning by the German government. When on board a British vessel they were on British soil. Was not their position substantially equivalent to being within the walls of a fortified city? It appears to me that from our standpoint as a neutral nation, the *Gulflight* case presents a more delicate and serious complication than the case of the *Lusitania.*"

Senator Chas. N. Thomas: "The *Lusitania* tragedy differs only in degree from that of the *Falaba.* Apart from their greater fatalities neither may develop a condition so acute as the destruction of the *Gulflight.*"

Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock: "The loss of American lives was not caused by desire to injure America, but was incidental or accidental, and if reparation is made does not become a cause for us to abandon neutral attitude."

Senator Wm. E. Borah: "That disaster and the loss of the lives of American citizens would be calculated ordinarily to arouse great feeling throughout the country, and doubtless the American people do feel deeply upon the subject; but to my mind, the sinking of the steamship of a foe upon which happens to be found American citizens is by no means to be

compared with the act of hunting out, robbing, assaulting and murdering American citizens in a neighboring country. We have lost more citizens in Mexico than we will lose on the *Lusitania,* and as our policy with reference to Mexico seems to be well settled and accepted, there is no possible reason why we should apply a different policy toward Germany. I don't anticipate any change of policy because of this unfortunate affair."

Representative W. L. Jones, of Washington: "Our citizens have rights, but they should not insist on exercising them in a way likely to involve us in war. When they sail in foreign ships into dangerous territory they should understand that they take the risk. Innocent people at home should not be embroiled in war on their account."

Representative A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania: "The *Lusitania* was flying the British flag, and carrying munitions of war for the support of a belligerent. Neutral passengers, who, in the face of warnings, undertook this perilous voyage, certainly assumed some risk themselves, for which the entire nation ought not to be asked to suffer. Of course, the destruction of a passenger boat is horrible. War is always horrible. This method of fighting is not humane—it is hardly civilized, but there is no such thing as humanity in civilized warfare."

Representative Caleb Powers, of Kentucky: "This country is not the insurer of either the lives or the safety of the citizens, especially aboard foreign vessels, who of their own volition subject themselves to the dangers and perils of the war zone, and, while this country does and should deeply deplore the sinking of the *Lusitania,* yet it should not be involved in war by reason thereof."

Governor Simeon E. Baldwin, of Connecticut, and professor in the Yale Law School: "If I recollect correctly, the dispatch of our government to Germany with reference to the previous incident of sinking a ship by a German submarine, as was supposed, in the war zone, referred to the matter as something occurring to a ship sailing under American colors. The phrase 'strict accountability' used in the dispatch did not, as I recollect it, refer to a foreign vessel sailing under her true colors. The responsibility now under the present circumstances of our declaring our policy, is somewhat different in character."

Governor Brewer, of Mississippi, in a statement, May 13, declared that as Americans had been warned not to take passage on the British steamship *Lusitania* he could not understand why the United States should quarrel with Germany because Americans lost their lives as a result of the torpedoing of the vessel.

"Americans were given fair warning to stay off," he said. "The passengers knew what to expect and took the risk."

Professor George W. Kirchwey: "My advice to the President would be: Don't be too fond or too stiff about the rights of neutrals. Don't

take an attitude from which you can't withdraw without war. I would make the American people count until they get over this bellicose feeling. There is no doubt that there is no right to sink living persons on ships, but I think there is need of a new law forbidding neutrals from sailing on enemy ships carrying contraband. The need of this is caused by the new emergencies and new conditions found in present maritime warfare and the recklessness of all the nations at war."

Oswald O. Villard: "A war now would be singularly unremunerative, and about as agreeable as a conflict between an elephant and an alligator. We would not get at them nor they at us. We should be pulling England's chestnuts out of the fire if we were to send troops to Europe, which latter action could be justified only on the wild ground that all our civilization was in danger."—*The Fatherland.*

Before the Fact.

The following editorial from the New York *Evening Sun* was written on the morning of the day on which the *Lusitania* was sunk and shows that there were at least some thinking men in America who disapproved of the presence of Americans on board the *Lusitania:*

"The failure of Americans on the eve of departure abroad to take more seriously the German Ambassador's warning against sailing in British vessels and their failure to be frightened by the torpedoing of ships with consequent loss of life are among the strangest phenomena of the war. A few weeks ago it seemed doubtful whether there would be any of the usual summer travel oversea. Since then thousands of persons on this side have made inquiries preparatory to crossing. A single liner, the *Lusitania,* left this port last Saturday carrying almost a thousand cabin passengers, a high figure for the time of year. It is announced that the fast Cunard service will be kept up all summer and good bookings are in sight. Most remarkable of all, no apparent fright or hesitation was perceptible from the deluge of warnings among the outgoing passengers.

"The touring places of England and France will lack some of their ordinary attraction, seen in the shadow of trouble; their drawing power is thus diminished for most visitors rather than increased by the promise of sensational but sorrowful sights. No unusual impulsion causes Americans at this time to seek the trans-atlantic summering places in spite of the risk. If they are going they go through contempt for the risks.

"Here is a riddle for the German Embassy to read. Disregard of its solemn and official warning, thus expressed, may divulge the private opinions which the bulk of Americans hold concerning the present conflict.

Several interpretations of the phenomenon are possible. In these days of guarded act and speech each person had best form his own."

The New York *Sun* of May 8th said editorially:

"It is proper to keep clearly in mind the fact that the undersea attack on the *Lusitania* is of less importance to us, as an event involving international relations, than the recent sinking of the *Falaba*—that is, if it shall happily prove true that all the American passengers who sailed a week ago to-day on the great Cunard liner escaped with their lives. If, on the contrary, any American citizen died in consequence of the torpedoing of the *Lusitania,* the incident is in the class with the *Falaba,* and technically possesses neither more nor less significance than that affair.

"It is likewise well to remember that, technically and logically, the concern of our government with the sensational event is almost incomparably less than in the case of the *Gulflight,* now a matter of protest and diplomatic adjustment. The *Lusitania* was a British ship, sailing under the British flag, and carrying, among her other passengers, British reservists on their way to the seat of war.

"The foregoing comparison will indicate that there is no further reason for national excitement; no occasion for pressure upon the administration for action more emphatic than that which has already been undertaken in the cases of the *Frye,* the *Falaba* and the *Gulflight."—The Crucible,* May 15, 1915.

Views of Senators.

View of Senator Stone, of Missouri:

"Senator Stone, of Missouri, chairman of the foreign relations committee, said the passengers on the ship were on an enemy ship, so far as the Germans were concerned. The senator said that the assembling of Congress was a possibility, but he could not say how probable such action by the President might be. He continued:

"The tragedy is, of course, to be profoundly regretted. If the reports as to the loss of life are true, the sympathies of the civilized world will be deeply stirred. But for us it seems to me that good sense dictates that we keep our heads until we get our bearings. It is a bad time to get rattled and act impulsively. 'Don't rock the boat.'

"Without expressing an opinion as to our relations to this event or as to our duty in the premises, there are some facts we cannot overlook and are bound to consider. We cannot overlook the fact that the *Lusitania* was a British ship, flying the British flag and subject at any time to be put into the actual naval service of the government. Indeed, it is

stated that at the time she was attacked she was carrying military reservists to England for service in the British army.

LIKENED TO FORTIFIED CITY.

"True, there were American citizens aboard, but it must not be forgotten that they went aboard a belligerent ship with full knowledge of the risk and after official warning by the German government. When on board a British vessel they were on British soil. Was not their position substantially equivalent to being within the walls of a fortified city? If American citizens stay within a city besieged or threatened and the enemy attacks, what should our government do if our citizens should be injured? I express no opinion at this time. I am merely suggesting reasons why we should maintain our equilibrium and not 'rock the boat' until we know what we are about.

"Aside from the possible loss of American lives, let us ask ourselves just where we come in.

"At the present moment and with the lights now before me, I confess that it appears to me that from our standpoint as a neutral nation the *Gulflight* case presents a more delicate and serious complication than the case of the *Lusitania.*"

Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia, said:

GULFLIGHT CASE MORE SERIOUS.

Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia.—"While I do not in any sense condone the terrible cruelty of torpedoing a vessel loaded with women and children, from an international standpoint, so far as the United States is concerned, I agree with those who regard the sinking of the *Gulflight* as involving a more serious problem than the sinking of the *Lusitania.*

"The *Gulflight* was a vessel owned by citizens of the United States, and flying the flag of the United States. The *Lusitania* was a vessel belonging to British subjects, floating the flag of Great Britain, and understood to have been loaded in part by reserves intended to join the army of the allies, and with munitions of war intended to be used against Germany.

"All had been warned that Germany intended with her submarines to attack the *Lusitania.* It is astonishing that the British admiralty did not take more vigorous steps to protect it.

POINTS TO ENGLAND'S POSITION.

"References have been made in the press to the letter from our State Department warning Germany that the United States government would hold the imperial German government to a strict accountability for certain acts of their naval authorities." This language did not apply

to vessels of Great Britain, flying the flag of Great Britain. This language applied to American vessels, and to the lives of American citizens sailing, upon the ocean under the American flag.

"While the public mind is inflamed by the heartless treatment of the passengers upon the *Lusitania,* we should not forget that Great Britain has violated international law in the exclusion of foodstuffs and uncontraband goods from neutral ports in her effort to starve and destroy the men and women of Germany, and that Germany practically agreed to the proposition suggested by the United States to withdraw her submarine attack upon passenger and merchant vessels if Great Britain would cease to exclude from Germany the necessaries of life required from other countries by the citizens of Germany.

VIEWS AS TO EXTRA SESSION.

"Great Britain refused to agree to this adjustment, and to-day vessels and cargoes belonging to citizens of the United States are detained and unloaded in British ports in utter defiance of the recognized rights of American citizens.

"I am not prepared to say that an extra session of Congress just at this time is necessary, but if one were called I think the United States should stop military supplies from being shipped to the allies until the rights of the neutral commerce of citizens of this country are respected by Great Britain."—*The Crucible,* May 15, 1915.

Who is to Blame?

Sad as the case of the sinking of the *Lusitania* is, it is negligible compared with the sorry state of affairs it has given rise to in the United States where most pro-British newspapers have not been ashamed to make capital out of this catastrophe. Their endeavor has all along been to embroil our country in a war with Germany and with a wolfish howl of joy they rushed to seize this opportunity of inciting the people of the United States to let go their hold on sanity and plunge like maniacs into the most foolish war of history.

Let us state the case of the *Lusitania,* as we see it, first, to pave the way for a possible understanding.

Many weeks ago the British admiralty advised all British merchantmen to arm against submarines and to the positive knowledge of the German government the *Lusitania* ARMED HERSELF (Point No. 1).

Merchant vessels were also advised by the British admiralty to try to ram submarines, as *e. g.,* the *Transylvania,* which left New York on May 7th, was firmly determined to do if occasion offered (Point No. 2).

A British cruiser has put a number of marines, well supplied with

rifles and ammunition, on board the *American* sailing vessel *Brynhilda,* in spite of her captain's protest, which marines, if the *Brynhilda* should be stopped by a German submarine, were to murder the hailing officer of the U-boat and make a submerging of the submarine impossible by shooting the tower full of holes (Point No. 3).

The *Lusitania* had a number of British reservists on board who were going to England with the avowed intention of entering the army and fighting against Germany (Point No. 4).

The *Lusitania* had a large quantity of war material on board which was to be used against Germany (Point No. 5).

Many weeks ago Germany had informed all neutral countries of the war zone around the British Isles and advised neutral vessels and citizens to avoid entering this war zone (Point No. 6).

Ten days before the sailing of the *Lusitania,* namely on April 22nd, the German government once more warned the American public, by advertisements, of the danger of traveling on ships which under the British flag or the flag of any of her allies entered the war zone around the British Isles and that they would do so at their own risk (Point No. 7).

The *Lusitania* had a speed of 25 knots an hour while the highest speed which submarines have reached is about 15 knots an hour above, and considerably less under water (Point No. 8).

To recapitulate: The American passengers were warned time and again, officially, not only by Germany, but by their own State Department, but frivolously disregarded these warnings not only for themselves, but also for their wives and children. The State Department has issued warnings to all American citizens not to travel to the warring countries except in case of absoltue necessity, and it will be hard for those American citizens to prove that there existed an absolute necessity for their wives and children during the terrible wartime to travel to England ***through the war zone and on a British vessel!*** The probability seems to us that on neutral vessels the accommodations were not luxurious enough for those pampered sons of the soiled dollar and that they were willing to expose their wives and innocent children to the risk of being sent to the bottom of the ocean as long as they could get a better high-ball and softer cushions on the *Lusitania* than on the *Rotterdam,* a neutral steamer.

These American travelers must have known that most, if not all British vessels, sailing from New York carry men for the British army and war material for the allies, and if they did not know it they could have found it out easily enough. The *Lusitania* had men and war material for the British army on board and the passengers therefore took the same risk on board of her as people who voluntarily move into a defended place on land, the more so as the *Lusitania* was also armed against submarines and thus partook of the character of an auxiliary cruiser. Will anybody say that women and children had any business on board of such

a craft? Of course, the women and children are not to blame, but the same cannot be said of their menfolk, who, so to speak, were the arbiters of their fates.

Submarines are very vulnerable, and where, therefore, there is the certainty or only the suspicion that a pursued vessel will fire on them, if given the chance, the submarines cannot give such vessels that chance. Such treachery, as the British have been guilty of in the case of the *Brynhilda,* is serving as a warning for the whole German submarine fleet, and falls back with multiplied force on the perpetrators of such treachery. And even in the case of vessels, not armed but of greatly superior speed, there is nothing for the submarine to do but to fire without warning, for a missed opportunity will not recur. Whenever possible the submarines have given the crews and passengers of a hostile or contraband carrying vessel a chance and time to take the boats and have even towed them to safety, but that is not always possible and neutrals should therefore heed the warnings of their own governments and of Germany and not take passage on vessels hostile to Germany or such neutral ships as carry men of war material for the allies' armies.—*The Crucible,* May 15, 1915.

Americans on Board.

Many causes have contributed towards making the *Lusitania* catastrophe possible, most of which not only could, but should have been avoided.

Principal among them, of course, is the refusal by England of Germany's offer to annul the war zone around Great Britain, against England's giving up her starvation policy against Germany, but there are other causes the absence of which would have made the passengers of the *Lusitania* absolutely safe. If British merchant vessels had not armed and tried to ram submarines, thus making unlawful privateers of themselves, on the order of the civilian snipers in Belgium; if passenger vessels had not carried munitions of war and a British cruiser had not put armed marines forcibly on an American vessel with the avowed intent of attacking German submarines under the shelter of the American flag; if all these causes, which *should* have been avoided *had* been avoided, the *Lusitania* would not now be at the bottom of the ocean; if Americans had not been so foolish as to disregard the warnings of their own and the German governments, we should not now have to mourn the loss of so many American lives.

If the ship purchase bill had not been voted down in Congress we should now have a sufficient number of our own vessels and could advise our citizens to use only American ships in going to Europe, withdrawing at the same time officially the protection of the United States from American citizens sailing on vessels of the warring nations.

If, however, all vessels of the warring nations which carry Americans are to be safe from the enemy, then let England and her allies make that a principle and let the United States declare that she will protect her citizens, by force of arms, if necessary. This would suit Germany nicely, for then all her vessels, now idle in her own and neutral ports, could take up their sailings again—with American citizens on board.

Are England and her allies and the United States ready to do that?

And now suppose the *Vaterland* had taken on board a cargo of foodstuffs for Germany and two hundred American men, women and children, had then left New York and tried to reach a German port, would the English war vessels, which are watching our coast, if the *Vaterland* had refused to stop at their command, have let her go because Americans were on board, or would they have sunk her?

To judge from the case of the *Dresden* they would have sunk her and left the rest to diplomacy.

When we consider that the German vessels, now laid up in home and neutral ports, are not sailing because they fear to be captured or sunk, and if Americans would not go on a German vessel even if it should sail, why then do not Americans also refuse to go on English or French vessels when these now run the same risk.

Would not everybody call such Americans foolish who would sail on a German vessel to, say, Holland, and are they any wiser who sail on French or English vessels through the war zone to England?

Let us be just to all nations, and let our State Department make it known that *Americans will sail at their own risk on vessels of any of the warring nations.—The Crucible,* May 15, 1915.

Mayor Ainslie's Sensible and Courageous Stand.

(From the *Richmond Evening Journal.*)

We take pleasure in reprinting below a statement of the Mayor of the city of Richmond, Va., Mr. George Ainslie, an utterance so full of sanity and common sense, that we feel proud of our chief magistrate.

Let us hope that his fine example will have the influence it deserves, an example which especially our newspapers should take to heart.

"Whether this country faces a serious situation because of the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* is a question which hinges entirely upon international law—a subject which I have not studied for twenty years," said Mayor George Ainslie this morning. "As far as I can see, it is a question as to whether the legal rights of American citizens have been violated, and I am not familiar enough with the matter to express an opinion. To use an extreme illustration, if an American citizen enlists in the French army he relinquishes all rights to the protection of his country. If an

American citizen takes passage on a vessel flying the flag of a warring nation, and knowing that it will enter the war zone, it appears to me that he also relinquishes the right to protection by a neutral country, just the same as the American who enlists in the French army. But whether the sinking of the *Lusitania* is a matter of international complication is a question on which I would not care to express an opinion."—*The Crucible,* May 15, 1915.

View of the *Danville Register*.

With the newspapers in the capital city of Virginia raving like hysterical women, it is a pleasure to see the Danville (Va.) *Register* editorially taking as sane a view and as undisputable a stand as it did on May 8th. We reprint from this editorial the following part, which we recommend to the cool deliberation of our readers:

"The sinking of the vessel by the Germans will again raise the question of the justification for the sinking without warning of a great passenger steamer by a submarine. The *Lusitania,* however, was presumably armed for defense against torpedo attack and was flying the British flag, and was, therefore, a fair prize for an enemy ship. * * * There was nothing for the submarine to do but to attack and sink her if possible. It is all a part of modern warfare. Whether it should be so or not is quite another question, as to which there is room for radical difference of opinion."—*The Crucible,* May 15, 1915.

International Law and the Lusitania.

John Frederick Lewis, a lawyer and lecturer on admiralty law at the University of Pennsylvania and president of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, known as one of the most widely known experts in the world on international law as it deals with maritime law, said in an interview that Germany had every right to sink the *Lusitania.*

He was asked if the sinking of the big Cunard liner raised a new situation in the law of the seas.

"It does not," he replied. "The only difference between this and the sinking of other vessels is that in this particular instance the vessel happened to be very large and worth a great deal of money, besides having many persons of much prominence on board."

Mr. Lewis told how the sinking of the *Lusitania* conforms to other instance of boats being sunk. Then he said:

"*No American on board has any right to complain to the Government at Washington, nor has he a right to ask United States officials to take any action.*

"Any American who went on board the Lusitania had warning that what did happen was likely to happen, or at any rate might happen. He went on board an English vessel, owned by an English corporation and operated by an English corporation and as such the perfectly proper object of attack by an enemy country, in this instance Germany.

"It would in no wise make any difference if the *Lusitania* flew for the moment the American flag. She still remained an English vessel. When an American took passage on the *Lusitania* he could claim the protection of the English Government only. He had no right to expect anything of the American Government once he was on that vessel.

"Germany had declared a blockade of certain waters and it was for England to protect the passengers, no matter what their nationality. If the English Government failed, that is not the lookout of the United States Government."

Mr. Lewis was asked:

"Do you think, then, that Germany was justified in torpedoing the *Lusitania?*"

"I think Germany had a perfect right," he said. *"And I want to say—and I am no especial proponent of Germany when I say it—that if it had been a German vessel which was torpedoed there would have been no questions raised.*

"The thing the newspapers and the public often fail to realize is that in war the theory is that every citizen of one country is an enemy of every citizen of the country with which it is at war. Thus for one citizen of England to trade with a citizen of Germany is an offense in both countries.

"If one only stops to think, the obvious right of Germany to attack a vessel of England ought to be apparent. Each country has attacked vessels of the other, and because the *Lusitania* was so much more costly than any vessel sunk up to this time and because it had a passenger list of prominence doesn't alter the situation a trifle."—*Vital Issue,* May 15, 1915.

Hobson Sees British Plot to Thrust U. S. Into War.

Maintains This Was Real Motive for Sinking of Lusitania and Charges Cunard Line's Friends Were Advised Not to Book Passage.

Former Representative Richmond P. Hobson suspects in the sinking of the *Lusitania* a British plot to embroil the United States with Germany. With this suspicion in mind and firm in the belief that the submarine is a veritable David's sling, he telephoned a statement yesterday to his brother-in-law, George H. Hull, Jr., of 30 Pine Street.

"A widowed cousin of mine," said Representative Hobson, "applied at the New York office of the Cunard Line for passage on the *Lusitania.* The booking agent, an old friend, took her off apart and told her that the vessel was acting under Admiralty orders and that she simply must not take passage upon it. He pledged her to secrecy until after the trip. This fact brings up pertinent questions.

"Why did not the Cunard company give to all parties applying for passage the same humane advice its agent, for old friendship's sake, gave to my cousin, instead of loading the vessel down with a full passenger list, including many distinguished Americans whose loss would necessarily strike the American imagination?

QUESTIONS FOR ADMIRALTY.

"Knowing that German submarines were operating in the south of the Irish coast, why did not the British Admiralty, which controlled the *Lusitania's* movements, order her to use the uninfested route around the north of Ireland?

"Why was the ship, having a speed of 25½ knots—a very substantial aid to security—ordered by the Admiralty to slow down to 17 knots in the danger zone?

"How could a torpedo sink such a ship in twenty minutes? An elementary knowledge of naval architecture would convince any one that such a thing is impossible unless there was contributing cause inside the vessel, such as open watertight doors or an inside explosion.

"Why was there no protecting convoy in the danger zone?

"Why was there no consort for the great ship, ready for rescue work?

"Maintaining our position toward Germany as defined by the President's note without insisting on the revocation of the British Admiralty's instruction," he adds, "is equivalent to demanding that German submarines shall not attack British merchant vessels with American lives on board, while these British vessels are free to attack and are under orders to attack German submarines.

"There could be no possible motive," he continues, "for Germany wishing to destroy American lives. In fact, Germany sought by extraordinary warning not to destroy American lives, and her commander torpedoed the vessel at a point near the shore where it was presumable there would be ample time for the rescue of life.

ENGLAND'S THE MOTIVE, HE SAYS.

"On the other hand, there is a full motive for England wishing such a tragedy—the motive for thrusting America into war with Germany. Our own self-respect and our position in history demand at least that we should find out the facts by regular, impartial investigation by a naval

court. We could not condemn the basest criminal without a fair trial. We cannot pass judgment on a fellow Christian people simply from the charges of their enemies, given by a burning motive to embroil us in war.

"The American people are not afraid of Germany and her allies, nor are they afraid of England and her allies, but we are a God fearing people, afraid of His righteous wrath. We are not too proud to fight, but we are too brave and true knowingly to do wrong.

Mr. Hobson sent the statement from Torrington, Conn., where he had an engagement to speak last night.

"It is absolutely false," said Charles P. Sumner, general manager of the Cunard Steamship Line, when informed of Mr. Hobson's statement.—*New York Tribune,* May 15, 1915.

The War Situation From Day to Day.

By Herman Ridder.

Passengers and Contraband.

The American public, with its attention centered for the time being upon securing its rights from one of the belligerents, is in danger of overlooking its duty to secure its rights from all the belligerents. I have always maintained that we should insist upon our rights, but I have always held and still hold that we should not, since we have now committed ourselves to the firm policy of upholding American interests, play favorites.

The suggestion has been made that Great Britain designate certain of her ships for the carrying of passengers, and mails and non-contraband freight, and certain others for transporting contraband of war. The suggestion is not only easily feasible but would, if put into practice, remove the only objection that can be raised against the warfare of submarines on merchantmen. It would deny Great Britain no right which she can justly claim and would secure to Germany rights which cannot justly be questioned.

The following paragraphs from the leading article of *The Boston Globe* of the 13th support this contention:

"That international law has stood up at all in an unthinkable calamity of nations and that its violation has brought protest so intense is an encouragement. When a social or a civil revolution obliterates civil laws for the time being, far-seeing men do not give up their trust in law as the only reliable foundation for human relations.

"But no law is sufficient unto itself; no more than law is self-executing. Law without common sense is an impossibility. International

law will not protect all Americans in Europe or all Americans going to Europe; no more than international law will stop a torpedo aimed at an ocean liner.

"International law will not protect an American on a British vessel unless that British vessel is engaged in service as private and peaceful as the service of a passenger boat plying between Rowe's Wharf and Nantasket.

"International law will not protect an American on a British liner which does not stop and reverse its engines at the sight of a periscope.

"International law will not protect an American on a British liner which tries to evade or run away from a submarine.

"International law will not protect an American on a British liner which sends out an S. O. S. on sighting a submarine.

"International law will not protect an American on a British liner under convoy of ships of war.

"International law will not protect an American on a British liner captained by an officer who will be medaled or heroed in London for ramming a submarine.

"So far the British Admiralty has not told us, nor have the censored news dispatches told us, that the *Lusitania* was pursuing her way just as she would pursue it in times of peace, as neutrally inclined and equipped as a Red Cross ambulance, and prepared to yield unprotestingly to orders of a submarine commander.

"If she was not doing and was not prepared to do all these things, then our trust in the grave concern of Great Britain for the safety of American citizens is shaken.

"Until we have stern promises and proof of the firm intent of Great Britain to keep her merchant ships with American passengers free from every taint of unneutral service and warlike concern, until then we cannot trust our citizens to ships under her flag. War risks and human risks are too high.

"Americans should know it without being told. Where there is doubt whether the law can protect, there sane Americans should not venture.

"This is not an acceptance of Germany's methods. Nor is it the slightest justification of torpedoing without due warning a strictly non-combatant passenger steamer.

"There are places and ships in which international law will protect American life. If it does not, then we must act to get what must be.

"Let all who would save the nation save themselves from any risk which involves the nation's life with theirs."—*N. Y. Staats-Zeitung*, May 18, 1915.

Humanity is Tempted to be Unjust.

That Is, to Bring an Emotional Verdict of Guilt Against Germany Without Considering the Motives that Governed Her Acts.

By J. DUNCAN SPAETH, Professor of English, Princeton University.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, June 4, 1915.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

There is a disposition in many quarters to criticise the note of the German Government as an attempt to evade the issue because it seeks to reach agreement on the facts in the case before the principles involved are discussed, the responsibility fixed, and the decision reached. Only the intensity of our feelings, our sense of outraged humanity, our sympathy with the sufferers of undeserved woe prevent us from recognizing in the German note an appeal to essential principles of justice as conceived by the Anglo-Saxon mind.

The fact that one is willing to serve on a jury and listen to evidence does not mean that he condones crime or lacks conscience. The law recognizes the establishment of motive as an important element in reaching a just verdict. To insist on the execution of sentence before the establishment of facts that bear essentially on the question of motive is equivalent to hanging first and hearing evidence afterward. There is danger that public opinion in America in its just and swift condemnation of the fearful sacrifice of innocent lives by the sinking of the *Lusitania* be swept by impulses of humanity from the solid ground of justice. Every judge knows how difficult it is to combine justice with humanity. To write them together is not to unite them.

While there may be disagreement as to the facts alluded to in the German note, there are certain other facts of paramount importance at the present juncture which are fortunately not open to challenge. An excellent summary of them is to be found in the Washington dispatch to *The Times* of June 2nd, under the caption, "Chronological Review of Correspondence with the Belligerents," and *The Times* deserves the thanks of all its readers for printing this valuable matter at the present time. From the summary as given by *The Times,* it appears that at the beginning of the war (August 6th) our Government asked the belligerents whether they intended to abide by the Declaration of London of 1909. Germany and Austria answered in the affirmative, conditional on a like observance on the part of the enemy. Russia and France awaited the decision of the British Government, which was (August 27th) to the effect that they decided to adopt generally the rules of the declara-

tion in question, subject to certain modifications and additions which they judge indispensable to the effifficient conduct of their naval operations. (The plea of military necessity.)

These modifications and additions so interfered with American rights at sea that on December 26th Secretary Bryan sent a note to Great Britain protesting against the seizure and detention of American cargoes. As an answer to this protest Great Britain sent her notes of January 7th and February 10th, "explaining the reasons for these seizures and detentions." Meanwhile the Government of the United States, having failed in its effort to protect against seizure by Great Britain American wheat and cotton cargoes bound for Germany, the German Government following the precedent of Great Britain's proclamation of a mined war zone around the north of Ireland and Scotland, gave warning of the establishment of a naval war zone around the British Isles to prevent the importation of supplies to England. February 18th this policy went into effect. February 20th the American Government suggested that a *modus vivendi* be entered into by England and Germany by which submarine warfare and the sowing of mines at sea might be abandoned if foodstuffs were allowed to reach the German civil population under American Consular inspection. March 1st Germany agreed to this proposal. March 15th the British Government "flatly refused" (*Times* summary) the arrangement proposed by the United States, and published the British Order in Council, the object of which was and is to prevent commodities of all kinds from reaching or leaving Germany. This order has never been recognized by the American Government as in accord with international law.

These are the facts. What light do they throw on the present relations between the United States and Germany? On two occasions our Government made proposals to Great Britain and Germany to secure their adherence to those "rules of fairness, reason, justice and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative." On each of these occasions Germany accepted and Great Britain refused the proposals of the Government of the United States. Having failed to secure Great Britain's assent to our interpretation of international law, can we now consistently ask Germany's assent to an interpretation of international law which has Great Britain's unqualified approval because it throws upon us the responsibility of securing for all her merchant ships immunity from attack by German submarines?

It is to be remembered that it would be unjust to our Government to suggest that the proposals above referred to were pro-German. They were made in the interest of justice and humanity to both sides. When Germany agreed to abandon submarine attacks on merchantmen on condition of Great Britain's allowing the entry of foodstuffs, Germany's willingness to accede to our suggestion was sneered at in many quarters as an "empty concession" on the ground that her submarine policy was

mere bluff. Having proved at terrible cost that she had an effectual if desperate weapon of defense and retaliation, the substantial character of the concessions she was willing to make to the demands of the United States ought to be in fairness recognized in our negotiations with her now.

Moreover the export of ammunition to the Allies from America has assumed such enormous proportions since February, that attacks on merchantmen laden with ammunition have increased in frequency, culminating May 7th in the sinking of the *Lusitania.* It is too late for any but the Governments involved to discuss the question of the reparation owed to this country for the loss of American lives. But the question of the future of submarine warfare is still open to discussion, and international law must take cognizance of it.

Our Government might have confined itself to demanding protection for the lives and interests of American citizens only. It has taken higher ground. But when once we leave the ground of our technical rights under international law, and take our stand on universal principles of humanity and justice, can the question of our manufacture of ammunition for European belligerents be entirely ignored, and can we in fairness demand of Germany that she deprive herself absolutely and unconditionally of the only means she has of preventing American shrapnel from destroying the supporters of her women and children? On the necessity of protecting the lives of noncombatants at sea, all Americans of whatever sympathies are united. The only question is how shall it be done. If we were not manufacturing arms for the enemies of Germany, it would be easier for us to ask, it would be easier for Germany to grant the entire cessation of submarine warfare against merchantmen.

Is it inconsistent with our national honor and with humanity to suggest:

(1) That we guarantee that no ammunition or arms of any kind shall be part of the cargo of passenger-carrying ships out of United States ports.

(2) That we demand from Germany absolute immunity from attack by submarines for all such unarmed passenger-carrying ships sailing from our ports, under whatever flags.

(3) Whether the crews of merchant vessels carrying munitions of war to any belligerent are noncombatants in any essential sense is open to question. But if ammunition and explosives were carried on slow cargo boats instead of on swift passenger steamers, our insistence on visit and search would be more likely to be complied with.

In insisting, and insisting rightly, on the elimination of the submarine as an indiscriminate menace to innocent lives at sea, is it wise to estop ourselves for all future time from the use of the submarine as a commerce destroyer and a legitimate weapon of defense against economic strangulation or the importation of ammunition from abroad? Is it

wise to put ourselves into a position where, if at any future time our own existence is threatened, we shall have to depend on the friendship of other nations rather than on the justice of our cause and our own right arm; where we shall have to substitute the doctrine of foreign alliances for the American doctrine of self-reliance? Ought a nation that is as proud of its rectitude of purpose and as conscious of its power as the American nation not be too proud to profit by the fighting of others, too proud to cement its own prosperity with the blood of kindred peoples across the sea, too proud to be driven by fear of loss or hope of gain into alliances, foreign to America's great tradition, and in the words of Washington, "calculated to create dissension, disturb the public tranquility, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union?" The cement that binds the Union will never be destroyed. Too much German blood has been shed in the kneading of that cement for Americans of German descent or sympathy ever to permit its destruction.

The American people are a unit behind their Government in all its efforts to defend and safeguard the lives, property, and interests of American citizens. They are a unit behind their Government in all its efforts to enable America to render disinterested service to humanity. But they are far from a unit in wishing to see the material and moral power of this country used to render successful the most gigantic conspiracy in restraint of trade ever organized by wealth and power against a nation which has in all its dealings with the United States shown an attitude characterized by the President of the United States in his note to Germany as "humane and enlightened," a characterization that will be borne out by a study of the correspondence between our Government and Germany since the beginning of the war. The American people are not united in believing that this country should use its influence and power to deprive Germany unconditionally of the use of the only effectual weapon of defense she possesses against a form of embargo we held and still hold to be in violation of international law.

The writer of this letter, Sir, was born in America and owes no allegiance but to America. By ties of blood he is bound both to Great Britain and Germany, but his deepest loyalty is to that spirit of liberty which is the breath of American institutions. When he hears on all sides counsels of safety first and the wisdom of conformity to an overpowering majority opinion he remembers the brave words of the American poet—

> 'Tis man's perdition to be safe
> When for the Truth he ought to die.

In rallying around the President in this his hour of grave responsibility it is the duty of all of us that have convictions to express those things that rise out of our conscience and our hope for America, so that

those who stand at the head of affairs may hear, not indeed a note of sullen discord, but amid the general loud acclaim the deep undertone of a loyal minority, dedicated not less passionately than the majority to the hope that when the verdict of history upon America's part in this tragic woe comes to be written it may be: "Her thoughts were Freedom; her words were Truth; her deeds were Justice."

J. DUNCAN SPAETH.

—*New York Times,* June 8, 1915.

Moral Unfairness.

We are glad to see representative newspapers amongst those who agree with our opinion that a demand on Germany to stop her submarine warfare is excessive and unfair. For us to demand on mere questions of technicality the right to ship ammunition, and then for us to deny on mere questions of technicality the right for Germany to defend herself against that ammunition is an unfairness without parallel in history.

We have written on this subject before and have pointed out that all laws are subject to change and, unless they are based on actual experience, they are without value. This is the case with common and statute law, and also with international law. Changes in conditions must have a bearing on regulations of any sort in the daily life of man, and in this way the submarine has wrought an unexpected change in the rules of the sea. The Chicago *Tribune* of June 3 brings an admirable article on the subject, which we copy:

"The American government, we trust, sees the need of accepting the fact that sea law must be progressively modified to conform to the course of mechanical development. It would require a wise statesman to say where our interests lie, but one of ordinarily perceptive intelligence can see that conditions have changed and that law must be modified to meet the change.

"We think it is the desire of Americans to deal with all peoples as fairly as prejudice will permit. The force of prejudice has to be conceded, and it will warp the thought; but so far as it can be recognized as a factor it is thus far minimized.

"What we must grant the Germans if we are to maintain a position morally defensible is the right to stop the shipment of ammunition by any means at their disposal. It would be hideous injustice if we were to assert on one hand the right of American manufacturers to sell any contraband that a purchaser could come for and then deny the Germans their right of stopping such shipments.

"If anything seems plain and clear in this war it is the fact that the decision will rest with the forces able to supply themselves with the

most ammunition. Whichever force can get the most shells will win. It is not a question of men. It is a question of explosives.

"By our rightful insistence that American manufacturers may sell whatever a purchaser wishes to buy we have put ourselves in the position of becoming a deciding factor in the war. We must not, directly or indirectly, and cannot, guarantee the delivery of the ammunition.

"That would be a sin against international fair dealing. Boats carrying explosives must not have the protection of passengers for whose security this government holds itself responsible. We must admit that a submarine cannot conform to sea law formulated before submarines were used. A change has been made by mechanics.

"The United States must meet Germany fairly on this question. We have no right to say that Germany shall deprive herself of the use of her only effective sea weapon in preventing the delivery of ammunition which may be the deciding factor in the war.

"We must recognize that the movement of military supplies of this character is a military movement. In easily demonstrable fact it is a more dangerous military movement that that of sending a regiment of troops. No one would deny the right of a submarine to sink a transport, and if we are to maintain the morality of our position we must not insist upon the acceptance of principles of international law which governed before the mechanical change made by the submarine."

We have never written anything plainer and stronger than the above from the Chicago *Tribune,* and yet the *Vital Issue* has been accused by Anglomaniac papers to be biased; but we deny that accusation, in fact we can furnish many proofs that we are less prejudiced than many of our countless anti-German contemporaries. Our idea is to uphold ordinary views of decency, fairness and justice, whether it be in journalism or in international affairs. Even though it is a slow process, we are very glad to see that the Chicago *Tribune* is willing to do the same.—*Vital Issue,* June 12, 1915.

The Rules of Naval Warfare.

By Isaac A. Hourwich.

It is within the range of possibility that at the time when this article will reach the reader, the United States may be at war with Germany. The President's note charges Germany with a violation of "the rules of naval warfare" and commands her to desist from the use of the submarine against enemy merchant vessels, on the ground that it jeopardizes the lives of non-combatants. Of course, if the prime object of Germany in waging war upon the Allies were to advance the

Christian doctrine of non-resistance to evil, she would have permitted British ships to obtain ammunition with which to kill her soldiers, rather than let her submarines endanger the lives of non-combatants. Inasmuch, however, as our government justifies its ultimatum to Germany by the principles of International Law, I shall confine myself to the legal issues involved in the *Lusitania* incident.

Unquestionably, the *Lusitania* case is without precedent in International Law. Heretofore, whenever an enemy ship was destroyed, its passengers were first taken aboard by the captor. All these precedents, however, belong to the time preceding the invention of the submarine. The question at issue is, whether this newest engine of destruction shall be discarded in obedience to precedents of International Law, or International Law should adapt itself to the working of the submarine.

Every technical improvement under capitalism has been attended by increased danger to life and limb. To object to improved man-killing machinery on the ground that it endangers human life is Quixotic. Professor Kirchwey, of the Columbia University Law School, suggests, on the other hand, that the United States Government could easily safeguard the lives of non-combatants by the enactment of a simple rule prohibiting passenger ships to carry munitions of war for belligerents, which would be in harmony with the spirit of the existing regulations prohibiting "the carriage on passenger vessels of dangerous articles." (*a*) Such a rule would interfere neither with the right of American citizens to travel on ships of belligerent nations, nor with the business of carrying contraband of war. In the absence of such an inhibition, however, the law applicable to the *Lusitania* case must be ascertained by the construction of the accepted rules of warfare.

The general law of war is laid down by Wheaton, an American and English authority on International Law, in the following broad proposition: "The belligerent has, strictly speaking, a right to use every means necessary to accomplish the end for which he has taken up arms." (*b*) There is, however, an important restriction attached to this rule, viz., that non-combatants are "not to be injured, except in so far as military necessity makes injury to them unavoidable." (*c*) The American official authority for this qualification can be found in Section 22 of the Instruction for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field, framed by Professor Lieber and promulgated April 24, 1863: "The unarmed citizen is to be spared in person, property and honor as much as the exigencies of war will admit." (*d*) The same rule is expressed by a

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a 36 Cye. 321.
b Wheaton, International Law, p. 472. (London, 1914.)
c Maxey, International Law, p. 424.
d Moore's Digest, VII., 173.

British authority as follows: "The measure of permissible violence is furnished by the reasonable necessity of war." (*e*)

What is "the reasonable necessity of war?" The answer given to this question on a further page is not promising from a humanitarian point of view: "The determination of reasonable necessity in practice lies so much in the hands of belligerents that necessity becomes not infrequently indistinguishable from convenience." (*f*)

In this respect there is a wide difference between war on land and war on the sea. While the rules of warfare on land have been slightly humanized in the nineteenth century, the rules of naval warfare still breathe the spirit of the middle ages. "The difference is accounted for," says the late Professor Martens, a recognized authority on International Law, "by the collateral aim pursued by belligerents. This aim is the destruction of the enemy's peaceful and neutral commerce." (*g*)

In support of this view may be cited the American instructions to the navy issued during the war between the United States and Great Britain: "The commerce of the enemy is the most vulnerable point we can attack, and its destruction the main object, and to this end all your efforts should be directed." (*h*)

Pursuant to these instructions, the warships of the United States destroyed seventy-four British merchant vessels.

How do these principles apply to the case of the *Lusitania*? If it be true, as claimed by the German government, that she was carrying soldiers for the British army, she came within the law that "every merchant vessel which is used for the purposes of carrying persons in the military service of a belligerent brings itself * * * into a hostile relation to the other belligerent. * * * The basis for this rule is its necessity to prevent collusion between neutral individuals and belligerents." (*i*) This is precisely the German contention. Should the demand of the President be conceded by Germany, any British ship carrying volunteers or munitions of war could secure immunity from attack by offering free passage to a few American citizens.

It is said that the German proclamation of a "war zone" is without precedent. It is supported, however, by good British authority. Says the late Professor Hall: "The distance at which the blockading force may be stationed from the closed port is immaterial. * * * During the Russian war in 1854 the blockade of Riga was maintained at a distance of one hundred and twenty miles from the town." (*j*) "In 1861 the British

e Hall, International Law (ed. 1914), p. 396.
f *Ibidem*, p. 398.
g Martens: Modern International Law of Civilized Nations, Vol. II. p. 564. (St. Petersburg, 1915—In Russian.)
h Hall, l. c., pp. 457-458.
i Maxey, l. c., p. 573.
j Hall, l. c., p. 700.

government recognized the blockade which was declared by the United States against the whole seacoast of the Confederacy, extending over 2,500 marine leages." (*k*) Commenting upon that blockade, Professor Hall says that it was "thought by the British government amply sufficient to create the degree of risk necessary under the English view of International Law." (*l*)

The United States Instructions of 1898 define an "effective blockade" as one which makes "ingress or egress dangerous." The sinking of a few score British vessels by Germany within the past three months furnishes the necessary evidence that ingress or egress was dangerous, indeed. "The fact that some ships get in or out without being captured is (according to an American authority) not sufficient proof that the blockade is not effective." (*m*)

It can be readily seen that if the United States relied solely upon International Law, Germany could oppose the demand of our State Department upon American and British authorities. There was, consequently, only one argument by which our Government could hope to stop the use of submarines by Germany—a threat of war.—*Fair Play,* July 1, 1915.

Germany Cannot Yield Until U. S. Brings Great Britain to Terms, Says Hannis Taylor.

The following dispatch from Hannis Taylor gains added weight from the fact that he was formerly minister to Spain and special counsel of the State Department, and is one of the greatest authorities on international law in the world:

Mobile, July 11.

Editor of the New York American:

Let us not deceive ourselves with illusions. Germany has her back to the wall; she is fighting for her life; she cannot make the concessions we demand as to her submarine warfare, no matter how illegal it may be, unless we compel Great Britain—and we can—to make such modifications in her illegal blockade as will render such concessions upon the part of Germany possible.

Who is so blind as not to see that through such a course of action lies our only path to peace.

We cannot hope to make a friendly settlement with Germany until we first bring Great Britain to terms, and that can only be done through the action of the Congress of the United States.

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k Martens, l. c., Vol. II., p. 575.
l Hall, l. c., p. 701.
m Maxey, l. c., p. 656.

There never has been a moment in our history when the assembling of the great council of the nation was more imperatively necessary.

The time is rapidly approaching when we must either place ourselves in a state of war with Germany or accept a rebuff at her hands. The decision of the question of war or peace is vested by the Constitution in Congress alone, and no other authority should venture to exercise it.

I believe firmly in representative government. It was devised as a substitute for autocratic rule, and it is a good substitute. I have an abiding faith in the wisdom, patriotism and sense of justice of the American Congress, to whose counsel at this critical moment the people of the United States are entitled.

I have no sympathy whatever with the suggestion made loudly in certain quarters that it is dangerous at such a time to trust to the discretion of the representatives of the American people. There should be an urgent and a nation-wide demand for the immediate convocation of Congress.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

Washington Post, July 13, 1915.

Edison Sees Great Prosperity Period.

Looks for Seven Years of Unparalleled Business Activity—Only Danger Is From Overdoing It—Real Era Will Come With the Close of European War.

East Orange, N. J., August 24.—Through the "hectic flush which immense war orders have given business conditions," Thomas A. Edison, the famous inventor, sees seven years of untrammeled prosperity ahead for the United States.

"These war orders," said the electrical wizard to-day, as he paused for a moment in directing his ever-growing factories here, 'are lending a flush to business conditions that are not real. But underneath them I can see prosperity of the most sublime sort for this nation. But one thing can overcome it—overdoing it. People must not lose their heads, as has been the case in other periods, and must conserve their resources.' "

The real prosperity period, thinks the inventor, will come at the close of the next year, when the armies of Europe have laid down their weapons and turned to more peaceful pursuits.

WILL HELP COUNTRY.

"There undoubtedly will be a great influx of immigrants coming to escape the burdens of the heaviest war taxes the world has ever seen.

XIII.

Austrian and German Comments.

Outcry Over Loss of Lusitania Merely Anglo-Saxon Hypocrisy, Asserts an Austrian Admiral.

New York, June 6.—Admiral Franz Mirtl, of Austria-Hungary, in blunt sailor fashion, justifies the sinking of the *Lusitania* on the ground that the Cunarder was a war vessel, in a statement printed abroad. The admiral criticises the "hypocrisy" of the outcry and declares there is no other means for Germany than to fight on the principle "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

Up to 1909 Admiral Mirtl was in active service. He was frequently consulted on naval matters by the heir apparent, Archduke Ferdinand, whose assassination precipitated the European conflict.

ADVISED SLAIN ARCHDUKE.

Up to the end Mirtl remained the personal adviser of the archduke. He is regarded as a distinguished naval authority. When the war broke out last August he promptly rejoined the Austro-Hungarian navy. At present he is chief of a department of the imperial and royal naval board at Vienna.

The admiral gives the view of the German admiralty and winds up his remarkable paper with:

"Unless all the passengers had undertaken that journey to England on a 'sporting chance' of which Germany endeavored to warn them, responsibility for loss of lives will fall upon those who tried to counteract the German warning." His statement continues:

REGRETS HEAVY TOLL.

The *Lusitania,* that marvel of British shipbuilding, lies at the bottom of the sea. Unfortunately she has dragged with her a great toll of innocent human beings into the depths of the ocean.

Our sentiments vastly differ from those of the Anglo-Saxons who accommodate their feelings to the nationality of the victims, and who consider sympathy only justified if bestowed upon their own countrymen.

In our eyes human beings are always human beings, no matter to what nationality they may belong. Our deepest sympathy reaches out

to all those who succumb to the terrors of war, immaterial whether they die in action or in the discharge of humanitarian duties, or whether they lose their lives through the necessities of war, though personally not concerned in the struggle.

EXPECTS STORM OF SLANDER.

Therefore, let us once more express our heartfelt sympathies with those innocent victims of the war.

You may guess what a hurricane of slander and "virtuous" contempt will be loosed against Germany's method on the seas, with the stale object of confusing public opinion and of assuming before the eyes of the world the standpoint of the Pharisee.

In order to realize the hypocrisy of the anticipated outcry it is necessary to state beforehand that the *Lusitania* has always figured in the list of Great Britain's auxiliary cruisers, and therefore became a war vessel on the very day of the outbreak of the war; consequently she was liable to be treated as such, unless she had later been transformed into a hospital ship, and this alteration had been made known, which, however, was not the case.

WAS AN AUXILIARY CRUISER.

Besides, hospital ships may not be used as passenger boats. It can therefore not be denied that the *Lusitania* was an auxiliary cruiser. She was generally known to be one and was armed accordingly.

Suppose then that she were not armed, the British order urging merchantmen to attack German submarines, combined with the monetary reward promised for the destruction, exposes the British merchantmen to submarine attack.

I may say that these British measures constitute a reversion to the worst days of privateering. Great Britain, of course, asserts by way of excuse that she was compelled to resort to such measures because German submarines were destroying British merchantmen whether they carried contraband or not.

GERMANY'S ONLY WAY.

There was no other way open to Germany to retaliate on Great Britain's brutal warfare against the entire German nation than to use every means available, and to fight according to the motto "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth."

Leaving aside all the above-mentioned arguments, the fact remains that the *Lusitania* carried effective, not relative, contraband of war, in the shape of important supplies of munitions of war, consequently the *Lusitania,* according to London convention, was doomed to destruction in the event seizure implied danger for the captor.

This was known to the owners and also to the representatives of the British government in the United States all the more since the German Ambassador at Washington has spared no means to warn the public against using the *Lusitania* as a passenger boat.—*Washington Post.*

Diplomat Assails T. R.

Has Insulted German People, Says Von Schwarzenstein.

Berlin, May 12.—The attention of Baron Mumm von Schwarzenstein who, after long years of diplomatic service, is now occupying a high position in the German foreign office, has been called to the sharp criticisms of Germany in the American press in connection with the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the words attributed to ex-President Roosevelt that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was the greatest act of piracy in history being especially emphasized. The baron authorized the following statement:

"If Mr. Roosevelt used these words then he hurled an insult at the whole German people, which we bitterly resent, even at a time when we have to submit to the hatred and falsity of enemies and former friends. He insulted, without excuse, men who, fearless of death, discharged their duty to the fatherland in the hour of need, without hope of booty.

GERMANY WARNED PASSENGERS.

"It was only after England declared the whole North Sea a war zone without maintaining an effective blockade that Germany with precisely the same right, declared the waters around England a war zone and announced her purpose of sinking all hostile commercial vessels found therein 'whereby it would not always be possible to avoid endangering the crews and passengers.'

"In the case of the *Lusitania* the German Ambassador even further warned Americans through the great American newspapers against taking passage thereon. Does a pirate act thus? Does he take pains to save human lives? Does he publish warnings at the risk of frustrating his own plans?

"JUSTIFIABLE ACT OF WAR."

"Nobody regrets more sincerely than we Germans the hard necessity of sending to their deaths hundreds of men. Yet the sinking was a justifiable act of war, just like the bombarding of a fortress or even an unfortified city within the theater of war and destroying them with all the terrible instruments of modern warfare without regard for the peaceable people living therein.

"The newness of an instrument of warfare is no argument against using it. Aerial warfare has found recognition in international agreements and submarine will be similarly recognized. Can anybody believe future international arrangements will abolish this mode of warfare? England would herself be the last to shrink from using submarines against us with the utmost recklessness, but now has too few, although America is trying diligently in surreptitious ways to supply this deficiency.

"That peaceful citizens of neutral countries went to the bottom with the *Lusitania* distresses us too, but they were warned. Whoever goes into danger must bear the consequences.

"WAR IS NOT GOLF LINKS."

"The scene of war is no golf links, the ships of belligerent powers no pleasure places. That the people of England long have been expecting the sinking of the *Lusitania* which to-day is judged so harshly is proved by the *Lusitania's* unjustifiable flying of the American flag on one preceding voyage. Why did Americans believe the boastful assurances of England rather than our well-meant warnings?

"The sinking of the *Lusitania* was for us a military necessity not only because she was equipped for fighting, but especially because we had to protect our brave soldiers from death and destruction by American munitions of war. We have sympathy with the victims and their relatives, of course, but did we hear anything about sympathy for neutrals when England adopted her diabolical plan of starving a great nation?

"WHY THIS SUDDEN SYMPATHY."

"Where was foreign sympathy when thousands of innocent inhabitants of East Prussia were robbed and murdered by Russian hordes without any military purpose whatever?

"Why this sudden concentration of sympathy upon unfortunate victims of the sea while civilized neutral nations show little sympathy for hundreds of thousands who suffer a far more terrible death on the battlefields of the east and west in the war for existence forced upon us and which would have ended long since, but for shipments of munitions to our enemies—a war in which the English and French have assembled yellow, brown, and black semi-savages for our destruction?"—*Washington Post,* May 13, 1915.

Germany and the Lusitania.

Berlin, May 10 (via London).—The following dispatch has been sent by the German Foreign Office to the German Embassy at Washington:

"Please communicate the following to the State Department: The German government desires to express its deepest sympathy at the loss of lives on board the *Lusitania.* The responsibility rests, however, with the British government, which, through its plan of starving the civilian population of Germany, has forced Germany to resort to retaliatory measures.

"In spite of the German offer to stop the submarine war in case the starvation plan was given up, British merchant vessels are being generally armed with guns, and have repeatedly tried to ram submarines, so that a previous search was impossible. They cannot, therefore, be treated as ordinary merchant vessels. A recent declaration to the British Parliament by the parliamentary secretary in answer to a question by Lord Charles Beresford, said that at present *practically all British merchant vessels were armed and provided with hand grenades.*

"Besides, it has been openly admitted by the English press that the *Lusitania* on previous voyages repeatedly carried large quantities of war materials. On the present voyage the *Lusitania* carried 5,400 cases of ammunition, while the rest of the cargo also consisted chiefly of contraband.

"If England, after repeated official and unofficial warnings, considered herself able to declare that the boat ran no risk, and thus lightheartedly assumed responsibility for the human life on board a steamer, which, owing to its armament and cargo, was liable to destruction, the German government, in spite of its heartfelt sympathy for the loss of American lives, can but regret that Americans felt more inclined to trust to English promises rather than pay attention to the warnings from the German side.

(Signed) FOREIGN OFFICE."

XIV.

Hysterical Comments.

Cowardly Assination.

What was feared has happened, except that no sane imagination would have conceived a deed like the sinking of the *Lusitania* as possible for any nation or man pretending to be civilized or to sharing the ordinary instincts of humanity. Weeks ago *The Richmond Evening Journal* warned its readers that a horrible shock probably would come, and that they should be prepared to meet it with dignity and self-control. The shock has come. It is worse than any anticipated, but let us meet it as becomes our responsibility to the world and to ourselves.

The humblest of us share that responsibility. None of us is so poor or obscure as to be incapable of doing harm in a crisis like this. Let all of us, newspapers and people, *forbear violence of word and rash, unconsidered action.* This is the supreme time of our history for the American people to *control their temper, to use self-restraint and to rebuke and repress sternly agitators, sensation mongers and stirrers of wrath and strife.*

The Germans had the right to destroy the *Lusitania.* She was a British-owned ship under the British flag. They *violated every law and custom of civilization, and civilized warfare, and every obligation of morals* when they destroyed at sea an unarmed and defenseless merchant vessel carrying more than a thousand non-combatants, many of them neutrals and citizens of friendly countries, many of them women, making no provision for saving life. Every treaty, every rule of war, requires that when hostile merchant vessels are sunk at sea, opportunity shall be given for the rescue and landing of non-combatants.

This act is wholesale, cowardly, deliberate assassination. No massacre ever done by savage people, by Indians or wild Africans, was so base, cruel and ruthless. The savages at least attacked in the open and encountered some risk.

We may look for prompt presentation of the excuse that warning was given, officially or semi-officially, against taking passage on the *Lusitania.* That is aggravation rather than palliation. It is evidence that the crime was deliberately planned and that the German representatives in this country knew and sanctioned what was to be done.

Probably the neutral nations will take action. Citizens of the United States, Italy, Switzerland, Greece and probably Holland, were among the victims of this murder. All the people of these countries must be convinced now that the victory and supremacy of Germany under its present government will mean the destruction of all the best of civilization and fearful retrogression for the world. The Kaiser has proclaimed himself the enemy of the human race. He is more of a danger to the community than would be a raving mad dog running amuck in the streets of a village. We may assume from past records that he will spit in the face of the world's decency by decorating with the Iron Cross the hero who assassinated the non-combatants of the *Lusitania,* and left helpless women to drown.

The calamity will harden the determination that Germany shall pay fearful penalty for following and obeying a remorseless savage and that the Kaiser and his family and associate leaders shall be deprived forever of power to do harm to their own country or any other. It will change the neutrality of all the peoples, not now engaged in the war, to hostility of feeling, if not of act, and to *bitter contempt and hatred.* The Kaiser will go into history more *infamous than Nero.*

We have a President we can trust to uphold our honor and maintain our rights. He will proceed with decorum and firmness, after faithful consideration of the law and the facts and with proper regard for justice to all concerned. There may be concert of policy and action among all the neutral powers. It may be that in view of the apparent failure or helplessness of the British navy to protect neutral shipping and neutrals on the coasts of its own country we will be required to supply our own protection. If we sent with every ship under our flag bound for a British or French port a warship to guard her and avenge promptly any assault, and with every foreign-owned ship carrying American passengers a vessel to see that if she was destroyed proper provision should be made for the safety of non-combatants aboard, it would not be an act of war. It would be a police and protective measure to shield the innocent against the attacks of irresponsible, barbarian assassins.

Whatever course may be determined upon, it is the duty of each citizen to help defend the deliberations of those who are responsible and in authority from wild clamors and unnecessary and useless disturbance to aid in making sure that what we do shall be right and justified by the opinion of the world and the decisions of history.—*Richmond Evening Journal.*

Sinking of the Lusitania.

Germany surely must have gone mad. The torpedoing and sinking of the *Lusitania,* although it was well known to German authorities that

there were many Americans aboard the ill-fated Cunard liner, evince a *reckless* disregard of the opinions of the world in general and of this country in particular—a determination to win by any methods and at any cost—only compatible with the assumption that *blood lust has toppled reason from its throne.*

It is true that Germany threatened to do this very thing, but it is true also that when the threat was received Washington met it with the declaraion that for all American property destroyed and for every American life taken, the Berlin government would be held to a strict accountability.

So far as the dispatches yet have told the tale, passengers of the *Lusitania* who were saved owe escape to the fact that the vessel's compartments kept her afloat until her boats could be launched, and not to any mercy or humanity shown by the officers and crews of the attacking submarines. The liner's deathblow was *inflicted without regard* for the safety of the nearly 2,000 lives aboard and despite the certainty that a great number of these lives were American. How these 2,000 non-combatants and neutrals might save themselves was a matter, apparently, to which no consideration was given.

It was different, perhaps, when British cargo boats were sunk, or when a British passenger vessel, plying to some port in another part of the empire, was sent to the bottom. In one such case an American citizen did lose his life, but Germany may contend with some show of sincerity she had no special reason to believe that an American was aboard.

As to the *Lusitania,* there is no room for such a contention. The advertisements printed a few days ago in many American newspapers, under the authority of the German embassy, which warned citizens of this country not to embark in British liners, now gain a special *and sinister significance.* At the time of their publication, it was generally believed that they were aimed at the *Lusitania,* and portended a *particularly desperate attempt* to destroy her, and this belief now becomes a certainty.

The government has never recognized—as, of course, it could not recognize—Germany's declaration of a war zone surrounding the British Isles. Acquiescence in this *impudent* infringement of neutral rights was forbidden both by our own dignity and by international law.

Through centuries of incessant struggle, in the ascent of the race from savagery, civilization has wrung from war certain guarantees of the sanctity of human life. These guarantees are expressed in the code that *enlightened nations recognize.* They affect neutrals even more intimately than they do belligerents, nor can any belligerent, by its mere ipse dixit, destroy the neutral's privileges and rights.

Until a blockade of the British Isles is rendered effective, American citizens have a right to embark in British vessels, with the assurance

that international law protects at least their lives. The ship on which they sail may be destroyed, but not until due precautions have been taken to assure their safety. That is the rule President Wilson has said he would uphold, and that Germany *flouted* when the *Lusitania* was sunk.

That deaths were not more numerous was due to excellent discipline and a fortunate chance, rather than to German intent. When a man fires a revolver into a crowd, the law presumes he must have intended the natural consequences of his action. The natural consequence—however, happily averted—of firing a torpedo into the hull of the *Lusitania* was the taking of American life. Germany so designed the bolt, and it is that design that fills the American heart with *loathing and bitter resentment*. It is for that intent that Germany must answer.—The Richmond (Va.) *Times-Dispatch,* May 8, 1915.

Germany Against the World.

Presumably Germany wants no friends. Certainly at her present rate she will have none. Austria and Turkey are held in ward by their necessity. If Germany has one single, other friend in the world to-day the world is in ignorance of it. And the condition is Germany's fault.

Had any man a year ago to-day stood before the American people and declared that to-day the greater part of the world would be at war, he might have been accorded a hearing. But had any man declared that in the prosecution of that war a civilized nation would violate the laws of God and man, treaties, pledges, law, morality—everything, that man would have been laughed out of America.

But those things have happened. The sinking of the *Lusitania,* we agree, was not technically as much a stab in the side of this country as was the sinking of the *Gulflight.* Actually history will write no greater crime against the record of any nation than the dastardly, infamous murder of the passengers and crew of the *Lusitania*—unless it be the ravishing of Belgium. One of those crimes would constitute a burden of sufficient weight to sink any one nation in the ruck of universal contumely. Staggering under both, and what other future crimes we do not undertake to predict, it is difficult to understand how Germany can hope to face the future or how her people can expect decent nations to hold communication with Germany. She is a moral and international leper.

At the beginning of the war Germany rewrote her code of ethics by the Belgian slaughter. From that time she has continued her mad course. While public attention was neither so focussed nor so horrified at the sinking of the *Falaba,* and the *Gulflight,* the German conscience had steeled itself to any lengths. She has sinned past excuse, almost past forgiveness.

Germany had every right of war—we do not admit that there is an inherent right of war—to seize, sink, ravage, scuttle, or otherwise wreak her hate on the hull of the *Lusitania* and any other British ships she might be able to capture. There is not an agency which will dispute or criticize her for taking such an advantage of those privileges which was bestowed upon her against the property of her enemy.

Germany had no more right over the persons and property of the neutral non-combatant passengers than a mob of outlaws has over the persons and lives of helpless women. Slapped in the face, the whole world is yet stunned at the atrocity. And even had Germany a legal, an indisputably legal right over the lives of the slain and had exercised only her legal right, she would have received the condemnation of history.

The facts that face us are these: Shall we resent the outrage, and how? We cannot resent it save as an unspeakable bit of savagery. We have no rights over the ship or the waters, but over savagery there is always a right.

Believing, as we do, that Germany has in this act, and those acts of similar nature that have gone before it, sinned as never nation has sinned before, we yet face the future with a confidence in the self-restraint of our people that is unshaken. It is our task to use every honorable means to lessen rather than to increase the horrors that have encompassed the world since war broke in a storm over our universe. We do not believe Germany has any doubt as to what all the world thinks of her action. That opinion can never be bettered even when Germany has expiated in blood and tears the crimes she has committed.

Our government must decide its position. That it will express in no uncertain terms its horror and resentment at such barbarism we do not doubt. And Germany must henceforth know that she has sinned away her day of grace. She herself has chosen to be the enemy of America and of the world.—*The Richmond (Va.) Virginian,* May 9, 1915.

Some New York Papers.

The *Herald* this morning says, editorially:

"The civilized world stands appalled at the torpedoing of the *Lusitania,* with the terrible loss of life—non-combatants, many of them citizens of neutral countries.

"In deciding the degree of guilt in murder, the first degree is the verdict, if motive, malice and premeditation are proved. In this case Germany furnished the proof in advance of the crime. If ever wholesale murder was premeditated, this slaughter on the high seas was. One American life lost makes another case against Germany similar to that of

the *Gulflight*. But undoubtedly hundreds of Americans have been sent swirling to eternity by the German pirates.

"Henceforth is international anarchy to be the factor in warfare? Henceforth is piracy on the high seas to be recognized and go unpunished? Henceforth is the wanton murder of neutral and non-combatant passengers to be treated as regrettable incidents and go at that?

"It is for the neutral countries, and above all for the United States, to answer these questions. It is a time of gravity in American history unmatched since the Civil War. This cold-blooded, premeditated outrage on colossal scale will cause such a blinding whitelight of indignation throughout the neutral portion of the world, unhappily growing smaller and smaller, that there cannot conceivably be in Washington any thought of turning back from the note to Germany sent February 10."

The *World* says: "How many American lives have been snuffed out in the loss of the *Lusitania* we do not yet know. But it is no fault of the German government that anybody escaped from either ship. It is no fault of the German government that every American on board the *Lusitania* is not lying at the bottom of the sea. The whole German submarine policy in its campaign not against British ships of war, but against merchantmen on the high seas, is a revival of piracy—piracy organized, systematized and nationalized. It is piracy against neutrals as well as against enemies.

"Modern history affords no other such example of a great nation running amuck and calling it military necessity.

"What Germany expects to gain by her policy is something we cannot guess. What advantage will it be to her to be left without a friend or a well-wisher in the world? The war cannot last forever. Peace will eventually come, if only through exhaustion. What will be the attitude of the other nations towards Germany when the conflict is finished? How many decades must pass before Germany can live down the criminal record that she is writing for herself in the annals of history?

"It has often happened that men in their desperation have become outlaws. But we recall no other instance in which a great nation has deliberately elected to become an outlaw. That is the tragedy of the insensate policy that the German government is pursuing, and eventually the German people will pay a staggering price for their government's folly—a price that cannot be measured even in treasure or blood."—Richmond *Times-Dispatch,* May 8, 1915.

Louisville, Ky., May 11.—Under the caption, "The Heart of Christ—the Sword of the Lord and Gideon," Colonel Henry Watterson says in the *Courier-Journal:*

"That which the *Courier-Journal* has feared—which it has been for

weeks forecasting as likely to happen—has come to pass. A great ocean liner, passing peacefully to and from an American port, carrying a harmless ship's company of non-combatants, men, women and children, many of them American citizens, has, without chance of escape or time for prayer, been ruthlessly sent to the bottom of the deep and some thousand or more gone to the death, drowning and mangled by the murderous onset of a German submarine.

"Truly, the nation of the Blackhand and the bloody heart has got in its work. It has got in its work, not upon armed antagonists in fair fight on battle front, but upon the unoffending and the helpless, sailing what has always been and should ever remain, to the peaceful and peace-loving, God's free and open sea.

"Nothing in the annals of piracy can, in wanton and cruel ferocity, equal the destruction of the *Lusitania.*

"But comes the query: What are we going to do about it? Are we at the mercy of the insane Hohenzollern, not only through his emissaries sending his odious system of government and debasing theories of casteism affecting superiority to our doors and proclaiming them, but bringing his war of conquest and murder across the line of our transit and travel over the high seas, which are ours to sail as we list, without let or hindrance from man or monarch, from him or from any one on land or water?

SOVEREIGN OR VASSAL?

"Must we, as a people, sit down like dogs and see our laws defied, our flag flouted and our protests whistled town the wind of this lordling's majestic disdain?

"Must we, as a nation, emulate at once the impotence and the docility of China, and before such proof of the contempt in which we are held by him and his, throw up our hands in entreaty and despair, saying to the insistence of autocracy, to the insolence of vanity, 'Thy will is law'?

"What could the President have meant when he declared that the government of the United States would hold the government of Germany to strict accountability in the event that its war zone pronunciamento resulted in the loss of the life of a single American? How did he intend that his countrymen should understand him when he put forth his supplementary protests? Are we a sovereign or are we a vassal?

"Please God, as all men on earth shall behold, we are a nation. Please God, as Europe and all the world shall know, we are Americans.

"Too long already have we submitted to the free hand of the foreigner at home and abroad. Months ago should the Pan-German propaganda, issuing from the German Embassy, led by the German Ambassador, erecting in the heart of our country a treasonable organization to support the German foray upon Belgium and France and to control our own domestic politics, have been ended.

"Bernstorff should have been severely rebuked and warned to proceed at his peril. For less Genet, the Frenchman, and Crampton, the Englishman, had been ordered away.

"Dernburg should never have got beyond Ellis Island. Harvard should have sent Munsterberg packing. Ridder should have been put under bond. The followers of these among the German-Americans should have been given the option of repeating their oaths of allegiance, with fresh guarantees for good behavior, or being returned to the Fatherland they had fled to escape military service, to fight for their blessed Kaiser directly under his imperial eye and eagles.

"Bartholdt should have been promptly expelled from Congress and driven back to Hesse, where he came from and belongs.

SOME GOOD AMERICANS.

"The poor and honest Germans of the United States—those who came here to better their fortunes and escape despotism and casteism; those who when they took out their naturalization papers, confessing republicanism and democracy, meant it; those who have no interest, part or lot, with Kaiserism, who ceased to be Germans and became Americans should be rescued alike from the teaching and contamination of the newly rich of Germans, whose dearest hope is to go home and build castles on the Rhine, and from the highbrow writers and herr doctors who worship at the shrine of the Hohenzollern, having learned their lesson from the highbrows of Heidelberg, Gottingen and Bonn.

"The *Courier-Journal* will not go the length of saying that the President should convene Congress and advise it to declare against these barbarians a state of war. This may yet become necessary. Whilst actual war is not possible—Germany having no fleet we can wipe off the briny deep, nor army near enough to be met face to face and exterminated—yet we are not wholly without reprisal for the murder of our citizens and the destruction of their property. There are many German ships—at least two German men-of-war in the aggregate worth many millions of dollars —within our reach to make our losses, repudiated by Germany, whole again.

"We must not act either in haste or passion. This catastrophe is too real, the flashlight it throws upon the methods and purposes of Germany is too appalling, to leave us in any doubt what awaits us as the bloody and brutal work goes on. Civilization should abjure its neutrality. It should rise as one mighty, godlike force, and as far as its moral influence and physical appliance can be made to prevail, forbid the riot of hate and debauch of blood that, like a madman, is running amuck among the innocent and unprotected."—*Courier-Journal,* Louisville, Ky.

XV.

Stories of Passengers.

Lusitania Going Slowly, Saw Submarines an Hour Before She Was Struck.

Tried Vainly to Accelerate Speed and Escape Missiles—Passengers Declare More Than One Submersible Attacked Ship—New Yorker Says Discipline and Precautions Were Lax on Ship.

London, May 9.—For forty-eight hours a fog of confusion and horror has blurred the picture of the *Lusitania's* destruction, with two out of every three of the lives that were entrusted to her keeping.

To-day the fog is lifting, and details that were not discernible before are standing out in relief. It now is possible to see more clearly what happened. A word here, a word there, was all that could be gathered in the first hours. But now minds are beginning to work clearly again, recollections are taking form, and the scene of the tragedy is being recalled minutely.

What happened was this:

Since Thursday the great liner had been proceeding at a speed much below her possibilities. Although her pace had been quickened not long before she was struck, she still did *not go more than eighteen knots,* although her range ran as high as twenty-five. On Thursday too her *lifeboats had been swung out* on their davits, in anticipation of the dangers that would attend her entrance into the war zone.

Through Friday morning the ship swept on with no sign of menace. The luncheon bugle sounded, and most of those who had been on deck went below. *Two passengers have declared that even then, an hour before the attack actually came, submarines were to be seen.* Ernest Cowper, a Toronto newspaper man, said to-day at Holyhead:

"I was standing with James H. Rogers on the starboard side an hour and a quarter before we were struck, when all at once we observed the wake of our ship, and realized that something was happening, as the vessel appeared to swerve. We ran to the other side, and then clearly saw, away on the horizon, the conning tower of a submarine."

THINK SUBMARINES WORKED IN UNISON.

Dr. Carl E. Rogers, of Montana, said to-night:

"An hour before the catastrophe I was on deck. I noticed that the ship was being swung about, and saw nothing about a quarter of a mile distant which looked like a submarine. We were going slowly, probably at half or two-thirds of the speed we had maintained."

Captain Turner tried vainly to manoeuvre the *Lusitania* out of the range of the submarine. More speed was called for, and was given, but just as new headway was being gathered, the first of the torpedoes found its mark.

There is a strong inclination among the survivors to believe that more than one submersile took part in the attack, and that *the one first seen came to the surface deliberately* for the purpose of driving the liner toward another, lying in wait and in readiness to strike.

The impact of this torpedo ran to every cranny of the great craft. Those at luncheon felt it, as did the officers on the bridge, those in their cabins or the smoking rooms, as did those in the stokeholds. There was no misunderstanding the nature of this shudder.—*New York World,* May 10, 1915.

No Protest by Americans.

Some Hold They Took the Risk and Should Not Complain.

London, May 9.—American survivors of the *Lusitania* have taken no action and have made no protest in any form, embodying their experience.

These survivors are divided, roughly, into two classes—first, those who never believed in the possibility of a tragedy and are almost inarticulate with bitter hatred for Germany, and second, those who took the risk with their eyes open and, therefore, do not expect their country to take drastic action on their account.—*New York Times,* May 10, 1915.

Ship's Discipline Sharply Attacked.

Dr. Fisher of New York Blames Cunard Line and the Admiralty.

Queenstown, May 9.—Dr. Howard L. Fisher, of New York, who is a brother of Walter L. Fisher, formerly Secretary of the Interior of the United States, and was aboard the *Lusitania* on his way to Belgium for Red Cross duty, criticised the ship's officers. He said:

"It is true that those on board were unconcerned over the possibility of being torpedoed. I took the big liner to save time, and also because in case of a floating mine I felt that she would have more chance of staying up. But, like everybody else aboard, I felt sure that in case of being torpedoed we would have ample time to take to the boats.

"I do not know what case is being made out for the Cunard people, but I cannot say that either discipline or precautions were up to the standard.

"When I heard the crash I rushed to the port side. No officer was in sight. An effort was being made to lower the boat swinging just opposite the grand entrance. Women, children, and men made a mad scramble about this boat, which was smashed against the side, throwing all the occupants into the sea.

"Then two big men, one a sailor and the other a passenger, succeeded in launching a second boat. Much to my surprise, this amateur effort was successful. This boat got away, and carried chiefly women and children. This boat was successfully launched on the port side.

"We then saw our first glimpse of an officer, who came along the deck and spoke to Lady Mackworth, Miss Conner, and myself, who were standing in a group. He said: 'Don't worry; the ship will right itself.'

"He had hardly moved on before the ship turned sideways, and then seemed to plunge headforemost into the sea.

"I came up after what seemed to be an interminable time under water and found myself surrounded by swimmers, dead bodies, and wreckage. I got on an upturned yawl, where I found thirty other people, among them Lady Allan, whose collarbone was broken while she was in the water.

"Another passenger on the yawl, a man whose name I did not learn, had his arm hanging by the skin. His injury was probably due to the explosion which followed. This arm was amputated successfully with a butcher's knife by a little Italian surgeon aboard a tramp steamer which picked me up.

"This tramp was flying the Greek flag, hence the report that a Greek steamer was on the scene. It was midnight before I arrived at a hotel in Queenstown. There I found neither dry clothing nor a bed, but was compelled to sleep on the floor of the hotel parlor."

Speaking with considerable bitterness, Dr. Fisher concluded:

"I do not see how the Cunard Company or the Admiralty can hold themselves free from blame for this tragedy. The authorities allowed a great ship, loaded with a valuable cargo, to proceed through known dangerous waters without a single torpedo boat as a convoy."

Dr. Fisher added that he knew that he was risking his life in the war zone and accepted what had happened to him as a matter of course.

"We were warned by the German government," said he, "and I, for one, do not want any official action by my country."—*New York Times*, May 10, 1915.

Says Turner Ordered No Boats be Lowered.

J. J. Leary Positive, But Order May Have Referred Only to Port Side.

Queenstown, May 9.—"Captain Turner, after the first torpedo was fired and following an examination, declared that the lifeboats should not be lowered, as the ship was in condition to make the Irish coast."

This statement was made to-day by James J. Leary, of Eighth Avenue, Brooklyn, who states that he was standing near the ladder leading to the bridge, and heard the Captain say that the ship was not mortally hurt.

"I was standing with T. B. King, a director of the firm of Brokaw Brothers, whose body I have just identified," said Mr. Leary, "when I felt the shock from the first torpedo. The captain ordered an examination.

"On receiving the report, he said in our hearing that he had closed certain bulkheads which would render the ship seaworthy long enough to reach an Irish port, and that, consequently, he would not order the lowering of the boats.

"Captain Turner had barely finished speaking when a second explosion was heard. Within five minutes I was in the sea, fighting to keep my head above the water. I had on a big life preserver, but a piece of wreckage had become fastened to my leg and was dragging me down.

"When my strength was almost exhausted I worked my foot clear and swam to an overturned lifeboat, to the sides of which twenty persons were clinging.

"One by one, weakened by chill and exhaustion and buffeted by the waves, they dropped back into the water to be seen no more, until only six of us were left. We were picked up by a trawler four hours after the ship sank. I do not know how many times I was washed from my hold, but I was always strong enough to regain the boat.

"Two things I fail to understand—why the order for a general lowering of the boats was not given, and why ships are not provided with a convoy when so close to the Irish coast."

London, May 9.—Dr. J. T. Houghton, of Troy, N. Y., stated that when the first torpedo struck the ship an officer of the vessel told him there was no danger and that the *Lusitania* would be headed for Queenstown and beached there. Meanwhile, the officer said, the boats were being got ready for an emergency.

"Then," continued Dr. Houghton, "the big liner was hit again, this time forward of the main bridge, the first torpedo having struck her amidships. The second attack was more deadly than the first, as quite suddenly the steamer began to settle by the head.

"Orders quickly came from the bridge to lower all the boats, and the work was at once begun. Women and children, who were terror-stricken, were rushed into the boats, but, as some of them were not lowered successfully, many of the occupants were thrown into the water."

A press dispatch from Dublin quotes James Brooks, an American passenger, as saying there:

"I heard the captain order that no more boats be launched, so I leaped into the sea. After I reached the water there was another explosion, which sent up a shower of wreckage."

"Isaac Jackson, of Paterson, N. J., described the difficulty experienced in the attempts to get out the boats from the steamer. He stated that when the people got into the boats to await events officers ordered them out, telling them there was no danger.

"So we got out and stood talking and waiting until the ship went down," said Mr. Jackson. "I think that as she had ceased to heel over beyond a certain point the officers thought she would keep afloat."

MR. JENKINS'S STRONG VIEWS.

Francis Jenkins, of New York, was one of those who talked emphatically on what he styled the failure of the *Lusitania* officers to avoid the submarine danger.

"It was outrageous that the *Lusitania* pushed ahead right into the path of danger," said Mr. Jenkins as he limped from the train at Euston, having been injured when a lifeboat crashed into the side of the steamer as it was lowered.

"It seems to me the Cunard officials did not use judgment to protect the lives of passengers. The utmost confidence, even to the point of boasting, was assumed by the ship's officers on the entire run about the unlikelihood of the ship being torpedoed.

Some of the most prominent passengers went to Captain Turner three days before the *Lusitania* was sunk, told him there was considerable talk among the passengers about submarines, and asked if it was not advisable to have a boat drill, so the passengers would know how to escape if the ship was torpedoed. The captain coolly replied that he was not worried about the danger and that he would get the *Lusitania* into port safely.

" 'A torpedo can't get the *Lusitania,*' said the captain. She runs too fast.'

"The captain, however, said that he would speak to the first officer about a drill. I don't know if he did speak to the first officer, but I do

know that there was no drill. This was commented on by the passengers as we neared the Irish coast on the very day the *Lusitania* was torpedoed.

"We all marveled, too, that the *Lusitania* actually cut down her speed as she approached the coast. Every one knew that was the path of danger, and we fully expected the ship to be speeded to the utmost. Instead, she reduced her speed so much as to make the passengers talk of it. I spoke to one officer, and he replied that there was no chance of a submarine getting the *Lusitania,* and her speed didn't make any difference. That appeared to me to be a strange attitude to take.

"We were also amazed over the fact that there was no convoy for the ship. The general opinion was that torpedo-boat destroyers would accompany us through the danger zone.

"A few of us suspected shortly after noon that a submarine was after us when the ship gave a sudden turn. We looked for a submarine, but didn't see it. The *Lusitania* did not quicken her speed.

"I call the management of the *Lusitania* bad."

CANADIAN ALSO CRITICAL.

R. T. Taylor, a hat manufacturer of Montreal, dwelt upon the lack of a convoy as a "mistake." He also spoke of the failure of the *Lusitania* to go at top speed, saying:

"How the *Lusitania's* officers can account for letting her creep through waters known to be dangerous is beyond me. It showed, to my mind, a queer lack of the simplest precautions. I fail also to understand why she took the course she did knowing that submarines had been there the day before.

"Who blundered? The rescued passengers at Queenstown to whom I talked all commented on the captain daring to run the *Lusitania* at slow speed and in the course he pursued. Nothing, of course, can shift the blame from Germany for willful murder, but the point I make is that more care should have been exercised by those on whom the lives of the passengers depended."—*New York Times,* May 10, 1915.

Declares Discipline Was Lax.

(Special cable dispatch to the *World,* from London, May 9th.)

M. T. Slidell, of New York, who was saved, and Herbert S. Stone, of New York, of whom no trace has been found, were in the smoking-room. At the instant of the shock, Mr. Slidell said to-night, they cried in one breath:

"A torpedo!"

"It is not true that those on board were unconcerned over the possibility of being torpedoed," said *Dr. Howard Fisher, a brother of former*

Secretary of the Interior Walter L. Fisher. "I took the big liner to save time, and also because, in case of a floating mine, I felt she would have more chance of staying up. *But like everybody else aboard, I felt sure, in case of being torpedoed, we would have ample time to take to the boats.*

"I do not know what case is being made out for the Cunard people, but I cannot say that either discipline or precautions were up to the standard.

"When I heard the crash I rushed to the port side. No officer was in sight. An effort was being made to lower the boat swinging just opposite the grand entrance. Women, children and men made a mad scramble about this boat, which was smashed against the side, throwing all the occupants into the sea."

TWO MEN SUCCEED IN LAUNCHING SECOND BOAT FROM STRICKEN SHIP.

"Then two big men, one a sailor and the other a passenger, attempted to launch a second boat. Much to my surprise, this effort was successful. This boat got away and carried chiefly women and children.

"We then saw our first glimpse of an officer, who came along the deck and spoke to Lady Mackworth, Miss Conner and myself, who were standing in a group. He said:

" 'Don't worry, the ship will right itself.'

"He had hardly moved on before the ship turned sideways and then seemed to plunge head foremost into the sea."

"I do not see how either the Cunard Company or the Admiralty can hold themselves free from blame for this tragedy. The authorities allowed a great ship loaded with valuable cargo to proceed through known dangerous waters without a single torpedo boat as a convoy."

Oliver P. Bernard, a scenic artist of Covent Garden Theater, has given a vivid description of the scenes that attended the striking of the liner. He said to-night:

"I think I can say that I was one of the few people who really saw a torpedo discharged at the *Lusitania.* Coming on deck from the dining saloon, I was leaning against the starboard rail of the ship when I saw the periscope of a submarine about 200 yards away. Then I noticed a long white streak of foam. It gave me the impression of frothy, fizzing water. Almost immediately there was a terrific impact, followed by an explosion.

"The shot was perfectly aimed at the boat, and when it struck, debris, dust and water were thrown up in a dense column through the entire superstructure of the vessel about the bridge. A hundred must have been blown to atoms, including trimmers and stokers, to say nothing of men and women in the forward cabins, who were about to come on deck.

"A few moments after the explosion the vessel toppled over as if she were in dry dock, and some of the underpinning on the starboard side had been knocked away. There was a frantic rush from the starboard entrances to the port side and from below. Women were shouting 'What shall we do?' They knew well what had happened, as *the chance of being torpedoed was discussed every day. I heard little else on the voyage.*

"There was no great excitement in the real sense of the word. Most of the women tried hard to keep cool, and except for occasional screams of 'Where is my husband? Where is my child? They acted bravely. I noticed more people going below than coming on deck after the explosion."

Passenger after passenger bears testimony to the fact that there was delay in getting the lifeboats away. Captain Turner himself has admitted that this was so, but in the statement made by him to a correspondent of The World he calls attention to the fact that it would have been worse than useless to attempt their lowering while the liner was going ahead at so great a speed.

When the second of the torpedoes struck the engine room it became impossible to control the ship, and she had to be allowed to plunge ahead until her momentum had ceased.

"Staff Captain Anderson advised us not to be alarmed," said Ogden H. Hammond, of New York, who saw his wife hurled into the water by inexpert handling of one of the boats, and who nearly lost his right hand in an effort to check the plunge of the boat. "I think the staff captain was to blame for giving this advice."

Miss Jessie Taft Smith, of Braceville, O., adds her testimony that such advice was given, and James J. Leary, of Brooklyn, says:

"I was standing with T. B. King, of New York, whose body I have just identified, when I felt the shock from the first torpedo. The captain ordered an examination. *On receiving the report, he said in our hearing that he had closed certain bulkheads, which would render the ship seaworthy long enough to reach an Irish port, and that consequently he would not order the lowering of the boats.*

SECOND TORPEDO STRUCK.

"Captain Turner had barely finished speaking when a second explosion was heard. Within five minutes I was in the water, fighting to keep my head above the surface."

Percy Penny, a steward, who went down with the ship but later was rescued, says the tremendous list of the vessel after she was struck made it impossible for the men to get to their boat stations.

A. J. Mitchell, of Toronto, offers another explanation. He says when the torpedoes struck the ship he assisted two children and Mrs. Ellen Hogg, of New York, who was in her stocking feet, into a boat, and then got into the boat himself. He adds:

"I heard an order from the bridge not to lower the boats on the port side, where the ship was high out of the water. This was misunderstood to mean that no boats were to be lowered, and several valuable moments were lost."

Isaac Lehmann, of New York, says that when he called to some of the crew to get out the collapsible boats he was told that the *captain's orders were to launch none.* Then, says Mr. Lehmann, he drew a revolver, and a boat which afforded room for sixty persons was lowered.

Twelve of the lifeboats were all that could be got away in the ten minutes that seem to have been the limit of time available for the endeavor. Twenty minutes is the period that the *Lusitania* remained afloat, according to the testimony.

DRILL "NOT PRACTICABLE."

Charges also have been made that members of the crew did not attempt to show passengers where the life belts were, and that those who donned them did so only after they had found them for themselves.

Many of those who were aboard the *Lusitania* had need for neither life boats nor life belts. Death came to them in the submarine's attack itself, or in the maelstrom that marked the place where the liner plunged below. The trawlers and tugs that took to Queenstown the survivors and the dead so far recovered, all brought word of scores of bodies mangled beyond recognition.

"As I look back on the voyage," said Miss Jessie Taft Smith, "I think the general apprehension aboard should have been rewarded by a convoy."

This is an expression that has been echoed by dozens of others, with the variation that even if the convoy could not have prevented the attack it could have done much rescue work.

"One of the wireless operators," says Wallace B. Phillips, *"told me that he had four answers to his call for help, but no assistance arrived for more than three hours.* There we were, in full sight of the beautiful Irish coast, with its houses clearly visible, and yet doomed to death. It was a horrible sensation."

Those of the boats that did answer the liner's S. O. S. had difficulty in getting to the scene, except those that had power, for the wind was light. The "Greek steamer" that was said in the early reports to be answering the summons proved later to be an Italian tramp.

To the agony of the hours of waiting for help to come there was added pain for many who witnessed the circumstance thus described in the illustrated Sunday *Herald:*

150 BABIES WENT DOWN.

"Fifty babies, less than twelve months old, and over 100 more, whose ages did not reach two years, were on the *Lusitania.* They have all been

drowned. There are numerous cases where both passengers and crew stripped themselves of lifebelts to put around these little ones, but it was useless. Dead from shock and exposure, they were seen later floating in the water."

Hope that many more than the 144 bodies now at Queenstown will be recovered has all but been abandoned though tugs of the Cunard Line are patrolling the stretch of sea that lies ten miles off the Old Head of Kinsale. Such another graveyard as that of the *Titanic* off the Newfoundland bank has been established.

"We didn't have a chance; I knew that when I felt the torpedo's impact, Captain Turner said to R. J. Timmis, after they reached Queenstown.

But the survivors are asking:

"Wouldn't there have been a chance if the Lusitania had followed another course than that she took on Friday?

"Wouldn't there has been a chance if the Admiralty had given the liner a convoy?"—New York World, May 10, 1915.

Majority of Survivors Bitter in Criticisms of Lusitania Captain.

Queenstown, May 9.—Now that practically every survivor has contributed both experiences and theory regarding the *Lusitania* outrage, two sets of opinions have originated, the majority being avowedly hostile to Captain Turner, the Cunard Company and the authorities.

The majority view is that Captain Turner had no business to sail along what is the recognized roadway of the Cunard boats; that when the vessel was torpedoed he insisted that there was no danger and actually gave orders that boats were not to be launched; that he had no right to give a submarine every opportunity by going at only half speed—and these statements are undoubtedly vouched for by responsible passengers. Furthermore, it is stated that the *Lusitania* should have had an adequate escort, and that if this had been furnished she would be safe now.

Above all, it is freely said that the *Lusitania* was carrying war munitions, which gave the Germans the semblance of an excuse for their crime.

The other side holds that if Captain Turner was not as successful as might be, yet he did as well as ninety-nine out of a hundred would have done. His adherents assert that when he saw the submarine he immediately prepared to ram it, not having any guns aboard with which to attack it otherwise, or he would have done so. But the first torpedo stopped the engines and rendered the vessel helpless, while the second sent her to the bottom of the sea without a chance even of getting out the boats.

For these statements there is no evidence available, as Captain Turner still refuses to make any comprehensive statement.

The *Tribune* correspondent telegraphed to Chairman Booth, of the Cunard Line, for comment on the reports of passengers that the captain did not heed wireless warnings. Chairman Booth replied:

"With reference to reported statements by *Lusitania* passengers, I shall not attempt to draw any conclusions until all the facts are known, and I therefore deprecate any criticisms, which can only be based on assumption. Meanwhile I can only state that I have complete confidence in Captain Turner's judgment.—*New York Tribune,* May 10, 1915.

One From a Boat Saved.

Ogden H. Hammond Struggled in Vain to Prevent Upsetting.

London, May 9.—Ogden H. Hammond, of New York, said:

"When the torpedo struck us I was on the starboard side of the boatdeck with my wife. An officer said 'Go back; no danger,' and I wanted to go to my stateroom to get some things together, but my wife would not let me go. Some stewards started to lower a boat and I put my wife and the other women in sight in and got in myself. A man at the bow let a rope slip through his hands while the man at stern paid out slowly.

The situation was terrible. We were dropping to a perpendicular, and I caught a rope and tried to stop the boat from falling. My hands were torn to shreds, but the boat fell, and all in it were thrown into the water, a dense, struggling mass.

"I went down and down, with thirty people on top of me. I thought I never could come back and must have been partly unconscious, for I can only remember getting almost to the surface, sinking back again, and doing this three or four times. Then I was hauled into some boat, but no one else from the boat that fell was ever seen again."—*New York Times,* May 10, 1915.

Only One Torpedo.

O. P. Barnard Says Ship Was Struck But Once.

London, May 10.—Oliver P. Barnard, whose first statement of the disaster from the standpoint of a survivor and a sailor was cabled yesterday, gave to *The Sun* correspondent more detailed information to-day.

Mr. Barnard is absolutely certain that only one torpedo struck the ship, and that there was not a vessel of any kind in sight at that moment. Speaking of speed, he said that he had often logged sailing ships and as a sailor he is sure that when the *Lusitania* was struck she was not *making more than fifteen knots; it might have been sixteen but not any more.*

Mr. Barnard said there was a boat drill daily on the way over, one boat on the port side and one boat on the starboard being manned alternately. "But they were not lowered. The men simply dressed oars and got out again. They were not ready for difficult work when the emergency came.

"The tackle was utterly stiff from paint and want of use," he continued, "and also so complicated that only capable seamen could have handled the boats. I regarded only a few of the men I saw as able seamen. Only a few boats on the port side, manned by quartermasters, got away smoothly, men in these took their loads out of danger in a seamanlike manner.

"Another boat on the port side was smashed to pieces when it was let down with a run," said Mr. Barnard. "Our boat on the starboard side went into the water nose down with its sides smashed. The stewards were our sheet anchors and they took the place of seamen.—*New York Sun,* May 11, 1915.

Ship Was a Death Trap.

American Passenger on "Lusitania" Shows Cunard's Gross Negligence and Incompetency of Its Officers and Men Caused Large Proportion of the Loss of Life.

That the gross neglect of the Cunard Steamship Company and the incompetence of the officers and crew of the steamer were responsible for very much of the loss of life in the *Lusitania* disaster is becoming plainer every day as the facts become known. The *New York Tribune,* which is doing its best to bring about war between the United States and Germany on account of the sinking of the vessel printed in a special cable from London on May 14 a statement from a competent American, who puts the blame for most of the loss of life on the negligence and inefficiency of the Cunard Company's employees. Here is the story as the *Tribune* prints it:

Many stories have been told by survivors concerning the failure of the *Lusitania's* boats to be launched and the lack of preparations for saving passengers in the event of disaster. The *Tribune* correspondent obtained from Clinton Bernard, of New York, a mining engineer, a succinct account of what he personally observed. He wrote this statement several days after the tragedy:

CLINTON BERNARD'S STORY.

"I've tried to write an absolutely dispassionate account," said Bernard. "I've left out personal experiences to a great extent and have put in only the things I saw and heard myself."

The following is Bernard's statement, which is to be sent to the American Embassy shortly:

"I was below in my stateroom at the moment of the explosion. I went up on deck immediately and attempted to assist in lowering one of the lifeboats on the port side. Just then an officer came up and ordered us away from the boat. I then went below to get lifebelts for the women, but the electric lights were out on the lowest deck, and it was impossible to see in the cabins. Water was rushing through the open portholes on the starboard side. The ports on the D deck and E deck were open. The glass wasn't broken, as was suggested to me by Captain Turner in a conversation I had with him Sunday. I know positively from personal observation before the explosion that the ports on both decks were open.

"Returning to the A deck I went to the starboard side, where the officers were ordering people away from the boats and crying 'Women to the cabins! Every one off the decks! Stand back from the lifeboats!' I heard Captain Turner himself order that the lifeboats should not be lowered and say there was no danger.

"The lifeboats were swung out on davits over the sides of the ship. Those on the starboard and port sides, directly opposite the grand entrance, had been refitted with tackle and were in good condition. But on a great many others the cables were old and frayed and the tackle blocks in bad condition, as was proved by the blocks sticking and the cables becoming lodged and holding up the lifeboats. Most of the life rafts were still fastened to their moorings on the deck or to bars which held them and supported the lifeboat cradles, although the cradles were taken away when the lifeboats were swung out. The life raft beside the grand entrance was clear, but it was impossible for a number of us to raise one end free, as it had been painted fast and was literally glued to the deck.

WATER IN KEGS UNFIT TO DRINK.

"The rafts were supplied only with kegs of water which had been kept so long it was unfit for human consumption. A keg which we broke open was a third full of a brown, stinking fluid. There was no equipment on these rafts except these kegs and oars. There was no panic among the passengers, though it was evident that the crew supposed to man the lifeboats were utterly inefficient. At many of the boats there was no crew and no one in command.

"I saw one so-called drill during the trip, which consisted of a boatswain blowing his whistle and a crew of six or seven men, many of whom evidently had never been to sea before, lining up on deck. At a command from the boatswain the men jumped into the lifeboat, tied on life preservers, and sat down. At another command they took off the preservers, stepped on deck and were dismissed. The drill had been entirely satisfactory to the boatswain. It is impossible to see what benefit was derived from it. No general crew drill with the manning of all the boats or the calling of all to their respective positions was held. Certainly no practice was given these men, who were in no way seamen and who were patently unacquainted with their work in clearing the tackle. Neither did they have the mechanical knowledge necessary to remove the chains by which the boats hung from the davits, nor was there practice in lowering the boats.

"At the time the torpedo struck we were slipping through the water without vibration. The entire horizon was clear. We weren't making over sixteen or seventeen knots, and the first boat cut away on the starboard side did not drift further than an eighth of a mile from the position in which the *Lusitania* sank.

LIFEBOATS MIGHT HAVE SAVED MANY.

"If lifeboats had been lowered within a few minutes after the torpedo struck there would have been no danger of their being swamped by the headway of the ship, and many lives would have been saved, as these boats would have been manned by men who could swim.

"As it was, wreckage saved many more. More wreckage or more boats in servicable condition would undoubtedly have decreased the loss of life. Most of the life rafts went down with the ship, being moored to the deck. I counted only six of these rafts afloat, two rigged and manned and four overturned. Had the full complement of lifeboats been free and floating, even though overturned, they would have supported many until help arrived."—*Gaelic American,* May 22, 1915.

Saw a Submarine Near Lusitania.

Dr. Foss, Survivor, Says Liner Changed Her Course.

A German submarine was seen a mile off the port side of the *Lusitania* by both passengers and crew some fifty minutes before the ship was torpedoed on the starboard side, according to Dr. Carl E. Foss, a survivor of the disaster, who returned to this country on the American Line steamer *New York* this morning. Dr. Foss is a young surgeon, about thirty years old, from Harlem, Montana. He was on his way to

join an English Red Cross unit; but his experience on the *Lusitania* was such a tax on his health and made his family so anxious that he gave up the idea and returned.

"I was travelling second class, and on May 7th, the day of the disaster, I was leaning against the rail on the port side of the ship, looking off towards the Irish coast. It was just at 1:30 that I noticed something low in the water about a mile away. I took out my field-glasses, and easily made the object out as a submarine. I then called the attention of some of my fellow passengers and of some of the crew, who were standing on deck, to it. Just about this time the captain and officers on the bridge must have seen it, too, as the ship suddenly veered off her course.

"But the *Lusitania's* speed did not increase. She was going about fourteen or fifteen knots an hour, I should say, *as the submarine went along parallel to us for about five minutes.* I heartily condemn the policy of the steamship line in saving fuel at the expense of human life."

WENT DOWN TO LUNCHEON.

Dr. Foss, who had been telling his story in a very calm, dispassionate way, showed more feeling as he said this. Then he continued his description with the same restraint as before:

"Well, we had been pretty nervous all the way over, and I decided that it was just another scare, and that the men on the bridge knew what they were doing. So I went on down to luncheon. I had just about finished when there was a loud report forward of the second-cabin saloon, which is abaft the boiler and engine rooms. Then the boat began to list to starboard.

"For the first moment every one was stunned. Then they came to with a start, and in a more or less orderly and calm way started for their cabins in search of life-preservers. But the boat listed so rapidly that I did not dare to go to my stateroom, but soon turned around and hurried up on deck without a life-preserver. There I noticed the stewards and crew busy putting on life-belts and gathering together boxes to throw overboard. The ones I saw seemed to be more interested in caring for themselves than in helping the passengers.

"The ship listed so rapidly that I finally decided to jump overboard, and did so from the stern, being careful, however, to dive clear of the propellers. Then I swam to some wreckage near by. I saw them try to launch a lifeboat filled with people from the davits further aft. Something happened, and the boat was smashed, throwing the passengers into the water. Some fell near the propellers, and were sucked in and cut up by the blades of the screws, which were still turning over. I dragged one such man to a piece of wreckage, but he died in a few minutes.

"Pretty soon I saw a woman and child clinging to some wreckage near by. I helped them over and into a boat which already had twenty-five persons in it. I didn't like the looks of things, and so swam a couple of hundred feet away from the ship to another boat, but it had been stove in, and was waterlogged. It soon turned turtle, and the passengers in it climbed up on its bottom. Then it turned over again, and threw them out a second time. It was finally righted, however, and some got back into it again.

RESCUED BY A TUGBOAT.

"Eventually I swam about a quarter of a mile to a raft on which there were seven or eight men. I had been in the water for nearly an hour and a half by this time, and was so exhausted that they had to help me climb aboard. Then about 5:30 the tug *Indian Empire* came along and rescued us and some seventy or eighty others. We finally got to Queenstown, and I was so exhausted that it was several days before I could do anything at all."

In response to questions, Dr. Foss said that only one torpedo struck the *Lusitania* and that the other explosion was that of a boiler. He also described the sinking of the Cunarder, which seemed for a moment to rise up, and then plunged under the surface, sucking down with it a mass of bodies and wreckage which gradually rose to the surface again in an indescribably hideous manner.

There were two other survivors on board the *New York* who had been in the crew of the *Lusitania* and are now stewards on the American liner. They are Edward Skay, a cook on the Cunarder, who swam quite a distance to a tramp steamer, and James Smith, steward to Captain Anderson, chief of staff on the *Lusitania,* who got away in a boat.—*Evening Post,* May 24, 1915.

Led to Slaughter, Survivor Writes.

Lusitania Passenger Adds That Submarine Surveyed Scene After Ship Sank.

In a letter from her husband, a survivor of the *Lusitania,* made public last night by Mrs. Michael G. Byrne, of No. 444 West Fiftieth Street, the sinking of the vessel and the activities of the submarine which sunk her are described.

A summary of the letter of fifty-four pages is given. Mr. Byrne, a retired merchant, was a first cabin passenger. He says he saw the periscope of the undersea fighter appear, and soon the wake of a torpedo approaching the ship. The letter continues:

"We were really led to slaughter. An officer ran about the decks, telling passengers there was no danger; that the ship would be beached,

although several passengers questioned the statement, knowing the torpedo had struck near the engine room.

"I waited until the water was even with the main deck, then dived overboard. In the water, the sight of women with children and babies in their arms was terrible. Screams filled the air and mothers besought persons in boats to take their babies."

Soon after the liner disappeared, he says:

"A ripple on the surface was increased to a wave as a conning tower appeared, followed by the hull of a submarine. It rested just even with the surface and a man looked about the surroundings and disappeared. The submarine quickly dropped out of sight."

Mr. Byrne was in the water two hours.—*New York World,* May 25, 1915.

Ignored Lusitania's Calls.

Steamer Was Warned Away by Admiralty, Says Coal Passer.

Cecil M. Jackson, of Walla Walla, Wash., a stage carpenter who took a job as a coal passer, and J. Rowan, of England and San Francisco, who arrived here yesterday on the *New York,* heaved the first bricks in the anti-German riots in Liverpool, following the *Lusitania* disaster.

Jackson, who had shipped on the *Swanmore* of the Johnson Line, running between Liverpool and Baltimore, told of a wireless message received the day the *Lusitania* was sunk.

"We were just south of Daunt's Rock at about 1 o'clock on the Friday that the *Lusitania* was sunk," he said, "when we received a wireless from the British Admiralty. It told us to make all haste to port, and from then on the speed of the ship was raised from the ordinary 12 knots to 16. Double shifts of passers and stokers were put on, and we made engine test speed until we picked up the pilot and got into the Mersey.

"We were about 30 miles from the *Lusitania* when she was torpedoed, and we received her calls for help. Captain Cowan did not attempt to go to her aid, as he thought it was his duty to get his vessel home and we knew that there were German submarines all about the Irish coast.

"On reaching the Mersey we heard that every one on board the *Lusitania* was lost. The *Lapland* of the Red Star Line was aground on a sandbar and we passed her going in.

"When we got into Liverpool everyone was excited and the anti-German feeling ran high. I put up at 95 Byram Street, near Scotland Road, and it was in the road that the riots started. I was sitting in

the parlor when I heard a crowd down the street and went out and saw that they had gathered in front of a German cutlery shop that was run by a man named Deiltmer. I was feeling pretty sore against the Germans myself, because I had been insulted during the day for being an American. People called out to me that 'The Americans are not better than the Italians—they are waiting to see which side wins and then they are going to throw in with the winning side,' and all that sort of thing."

Rowan took up the tale here. He was "in on this end," as he put it, and knew all about the rioting and subsequent looting.

"It was Monday night that the crowd wrecked the cutlery shop," said Rowan, who worked his way across on the *New York,* "and it was there that I met Jackson. We were in front of the crowd, which was composed of what would be called the substantial working class, and everyone felt very badly about the *Lusitania.*

"The crowd was muttering and growling and the shop was dark, but there were people upstairs. So I just picked up a brick and heaved it through the window, and Jackson here heaved the second one. Then everyone took to shying them, and in a few minutes the place was a wreck.

"Then every one broke into the place and soon all the furniture, carpets, and everything else were thrown out of the windows into the street. There were several policemen at the corner, half a block away, and they only grinned. The crowd then went on down the street and wrecked four German pork shops and carried away some of the meat. I saw one young fellow going off with half a hog and an old woman was dancing in the middle of the street with strings of sausages all over her and flying in the wind, while the crowd cheered.

"On Tuesday the crowd was a different sort. It was full of roughs, and when the shops were broken into they looted everything. On that day they destroyed several Chinese stores and some Russian, and then the police began to take a hand. There were rioting and looting all that day, but on Wednesday the police stopped it.

"I went over to England on the *Transylvania* last January and we ran into Queenstown to avoid the U-21, which had been reported to be waiting for us. We had two fifteen-inch guns lashed up forward. It was said on board that German spies in New York had tipped their submarines off that this shipment had been made and that they had been instructed to stop it at all costs."—*New York Times,* May 25, 1915.

Insist Lusitania's Boats Were Unfit.

Survivors Continue to Complain Also of Inefficiency on Liner.

London, May 11.—As an official inquiry into the circumstances of the loss of the *Lusitania* is to be held, there is little need to anticipate it.

At the same time what has already been cabled to *The Sun* is sufficient to show that criticism of the Cunard Line is likely to be very severe.

The Sun's correspondent in Queenstown says that it cannot be denied that Captain Turner's evidence at the inquest held at Kinsale yesterday has heightened the growing feeling that there was some great blunder. It seems the people in Queenstown originally thought that the *Lusitania* was making full speed or at least twenty-two knots an hour when she was struck. Captain Turner said at the inquest that the speed at the time of the disaster was eighteen knots, which is greater by two or three knots than was estimated by those qualified to give an opinion who were on board at the time.

The question of speed, however, is regarded as one which can be properly entered into only at the official inquiry. The reported inefficiency displayed in the handling of the boats and the condition of the boats and of their tackle are matters on which strong opinions have been formed. In the interview cabled to *The Sun* on Sunday, Oliver Bernard, himself an experienced sailor, severely criticised the arrangements for the use of the boats from every point of view.

WOMAN CRITICIZES PROVISIONS.

A survivor now in Queenstown is Mrs. Henry Adams. She was married in Washington on April 5th to a member of the wholesale firm of Densham & Son, Limited, London. The couple started on their honeymoon in the *Lusitania,* although the bridegroom, frightened by the German Embassy's advertisements, was strongly opposed to sailing by the Cunard Line. The bride, whose relatives in Canada are members of the Cunard Company, insisted upon travelling by the *Lusitania.* On Thursday night Mrs. Adams said to *The Sun's* correspondent in Queenstown:

"We went to our stateroom and my husband was still obsessed with the idea that something was going to happen. He went to the wardrobe to take down the lifebelts which were stored there. He found them so tightly jammed against the ceiling that it took much of time and work to get them loose. After we had practised putting them on we threw them under the lower berth. Next day, when a torpedo struck the boat, we were sitting opposite each other in the dining-room. Both ran to our stateroom for our lifebelts, then made our way to the deck.

"We found ourselves seated in a collapsible boat before we had adjusted our lifebelts, and we then put them on. Presently I saw a wave engulf the bow of the boat, and before I could turn my head toward my husband I found myself swept off the boat into the water. I was carried down into pitch blackness, but maintained my presence of mind. I finally felt myself being swept upward, and presently emerged at the surface. I managed to seize some driftwood and floated to an overturned

collapsible boat on which twenty men and one woman were clinging. They helped me to catch hold.

BOAT IN BAD CONDITION.

"The collapsible boat was leaking, in bad condition, with rusty hinges. As the men clambered aboard her she turned over. My gymnastic training enabled me to climb, hand over hand, always keeping above water. Little by little our party disappeared. The women lasted through perhaps half a dozen overturnings of the boat, but finally fell away, and there were only half a dozen men left when I became unconscious. I was rescued by a torpedo boat after the collapsible had sunk, but knew nothing of it until I was on board.

"Although every inclination prompts me to remain friendly toward the line in which I have so many relatives and friends concerned and although nothing is further from my wish than to do anything that might minimize this hideous crime of the Germans, I consider it my duty to my fellow beings to emphasize the lack of provisions for safety and the negligence on the part of the men responsible for our safety in this crisis. Accidents in these conditions will continue to happen after peace has been declared, and something must be done to make a repetition of this unnecessary loss of life impossible."—*New York Sun,* May 25, 1915.

Used His Revolver on the Lusitania.

Lehmann, Who Said "To Hell with the Captain!" Sends His Story to the Times.

From *Isaac Lehmann,* an export broker at 24 Stone Street, *The New York Times* has received the following, which the writer entitled "My Experiences on the Steamship *Lusitania,* Friday, May 7, 1915." It is an elaboration of statements made at the time of his rescue and cabled to this country. Mr. Lehmann writes:

"As usual, I had luncheon at 1 o'clock in the main dining-room, situated on D deck. After luncheon was through—about 1:30—I went upstairs on A deck to the smoking room and sat by the window on the English side of the land. We had passed the Irish coast some hours before and were just coming into sight of the English side.

"I wrote some letters home, and had just finished writing these letters and some postal cards. During this time I had the pleasure of holding a conversation with the late Dr. Pearson, talking about his wonderful new organ in America, and I was joking with him regarding

the late Charles Klein, the American playwright, that Mr. Klein had a wonderful organ as well. In fact, I was told by Mr. Klein that Dr. Pearson and himself were the largest customers of the Aeolian Company of New York.

"After they left I was joined by Mr. Medbury, who sat beside me, and we discussed several matters. All of a sudden we heard a noise like the boom of a cannon, and I said to Medbury: 'They have got us at last!' He thought I was joking. My answer was, 'Let's get outside and see if I am joking.'

"I rushed through the smoking room to the deck and turned and saw the torpedo making direct for us. The time from the noise of the report until it struck us was less than a minute. I said, 'Let's get away from here; it looks like it is going to strike right under us.' I do not know what became of Mr. Medbury after that.

BOATFUL THROWN INTO THE SEA.

"I went to the other side of the deck to the last lifeboat before the second class came along. Everybody by this time was on deck and the boat was still shaking like a leaf from the effect of it being hit by the torpedo. When I reached the first lifeboat nobody had made any effort to get it ready for lowering, and I suggested to the different gentlemen around there to get it ready. A great many people got in the lifeboat and there were three or four men at each rope to lower the boat, one man standing there with a hatchet in his hand to cut the blocks. One side started lowering the boat and the other did not, and as a result, before anybody knew what had happened, the other fellows let go and the rope broke which held the lifeboat and threw everybody into the sea, the boat finally breaking from the davits itself and dropping into the water.

"After I had seen this I rushed down the deck to the entrance which is known as the grand entrance and ran down to the D deck to my stateroom, known as D 48, to get a life preserver. When I reached there the boat had commenced already to settle. Somebody certainly had been in my room already and taken my life preserver. I don't know whatever possessed me, but I looked in my dress suit case and got hold of my revolver, as I figured this would come in handy in case there was anybody not doing the proper thing.

"I walked up to B deck and met my steward—by the name of Barnes—on the way, and I told him to get me a life preserver. I waited for him to get this and he put it on for me, saying that it would come in handy. I walked out on B deck and met the ship's doctor and the ship's purser, who told me there was not a chance for the boat to go down, that I should remain calm, and said I was foolish to have my life preserver on. However, I did not take very much notice of this outside of the

fact I laughed at them and said it was better to be prepared if anything did happen. This was the last I saw of these men. I understand they have been drowned.

"I rushed up to A deck and returned again to that end of the deck nearest the smoking room on the Irish Coast side. I want to point out, in order to explain what followed, that previous to our reaching Fastnet Rock earlier in the day Captain Turner had taken the precaution of putting all the boats in readiness for any trouble, which was a very lucky thing, and these boats all were strung out along the ship in readiness for instant use.

"FIRST MAN TO DISOBEY I KILL."

"To resume to that portion where I came up on A deck; I reached the second lifeboat and stood on one of the collapsible boats, which lay on the deck covered with canvas. There were quite 30 or 40 people in the boat already, and I asked why this boat was not launched and put down into the sea. I turned and looked to the front part of the ship, and she was so far settled down in the water that there was no chance that the *Lusitania* would not sink.

"I again asked why the boat was not put in the water, and said, 'Who has got charge of this boat?' One man, who had an axe in his hand, answered that orders had been issued by the captain not to launch any boat. My reply was, 'To hell with the captain! Don't you see the boat is sinking? And the first man that disobeys my orders to launch the boat I shoot to kill!'

"I drew my revolver, and the order was then obeyed. The boat was just about being started on its way down when the ship gave an awful lurch, as if foundering, and receded. There were about thirty to forty men and women standing on the collapsible boat where I was, and the boat in receding smashed all these people, who were trying to get into the boat, up against the smoking room, killing pretty much all of them or injuring them so badly that they could not move, I being knocked down as well, and hurting my leg severely, but I succeeded in crawling out and was able to hold onto the rails when the water from the funnels commenced pouring over us.

"A terrific explosion occurred in the front of the steamer, and then I noticed the lifeboat which had killed these people had gone back into its original position. By this time the ship was sinking fast, and this boat finally got away safely. I was then thrown high into the water free and clear of all wreckage, and I then went down twice with the suction of the steamer, and the second time I came up I was 400 or 500 feet away from the ship. I clung to an oar, and just then I saw the *Lusitania* take her final plunge. It sounded like a terrible moan.

BOATS WITH NO PLUGS IN THEM.

"Immediately after she sank there were hundreds of people struggling in the water, praying and crying for help. There was wreckage all around—old chairs, wood, all kinds of smaller items—but taken all in all there was very little large wreckage. The water was not so cold and it was a lovely day, the sun shining and not a ripple on the water. Had the sea been the least bit rough, I do not believe that out of the entire lot that were living at the time she went down fifty would have been saved, as most of the boats that did get away had no plugs in them, and the collapsible boats that were floating had no oars in them.

"The sights in the water around me defy description. Right near me were several men who watched with me for help. We saw, about a mile distant from the wreck what we thought was a sailboat, which kept our hopes up, but we soon found out that this must have been the periscope of the submarine which sunk us, watching us.

"Toward 5 o'clock torpedo boats and other boats came to our aid. I managed to keep alive by using my arms and my leg to keep warm, as toward sundown the water commenced to get very cold and I became very numb. I was only picked up—by Chief Officer Jones—about 6:15 in the evening, having been in the water from 2:28, as my watch stopped at that time, almost four hours.

"I generally weigh about 200 pounds. I was in the water with all my clothes on, shoes and life preserver, and when I was picked up it took six men to haul me in the boat, I had become so heavy.

"After leaving the lifeboat I was transferred to the tender known as the *Flying Fox,* and after leaving the scene of the disaster we did not arrive in Queenstown until 11 o'clock that night. We tied up at the Cunard dock, and the arrangement for the reception of the survivors was just as hard and difficult as it was to get saved from the *Lusitania.*

SAYS SURVIVORS WERE NEGLECTED.

"I was taken to the Queen's Hotel, where I and others were put into a small room. We had some attention, but mostly very little—in fact, we had no attention at all on the night we arrived there. Got some the next day, but very little, so I decided the best thing to do was to get out of Queenstown as quick as possible, and I managed to get the 1:30 train on Sunday for London, going direct to Kingstown and taking the boat across the Irish channel that night, arriving at Holyhead at 12 o'clock midnight and reaching London at 6:30 on Monday morning.

"In conclusion, would say that on board the steamer when she was sinking there was very little panic; everybody seemed to be resigned, but there was no real direction on the part of the officers or men who had charge of the boats, no one to command them and no one to give orders,

The portholes on the D deck were never closed, which I understand is the work of the stewards—this is one of the causes that the boat went down so quickly.

"The greatest life-saving apparatus on the boat was the life preservers, and there were hundreds of people could have been saved had they been provided with these life preservers. People ran around looking for them, but none could be found. Then the lifeboats were so heavy that it took ten men to handle the boat, and those who are not experienced in this work cannot very well get them out. Had a lot of life-rafts been thrown overboard before the sinking of the boat, and had not some of the officers and men in command issued orders not to lower the boats, and had some other members of the ship—who really believed that the steamer would not sink—done something to help, a great many more lives would have been saved."

WHAT CAPTAIN SAID ABOUT BOATS.

Testifying at the coroner's inquest at Kinsale, Ireland, three days after the disaster, Captain W. T. Turner said that immediately after the torpedo struck the *Lusitania* he gave an order to lower the lifeboats down to the rails, and directed that women and children should get into them.

"I also gave orders to stop the ship," he continued, "but we could not stop—the engines were out of commission. It was not safe to lower boats until the speed was off the vessel. There was a perceptible headway on her up to the time she went down."

Captain Turner said it was impossible to launch lifeboats on the port side owing to the listing of the ship. He said the passengers were supplied with life-belts.—*New York Times,* June 2, 1915.

British Torpedo Boats Near as Lusitania Sinks.

F. J. Gauntlett, Official of Newport News Company, Bitter Against Government.

New York, June 3.—A flotilla of British torpedo-boats and destroyers was lying in Queenstown harbor while the *Lusitania* was being sunk a few miles away, according to F. J. Gauntlett, an official of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, and a *Lusitania* survivor, who returned on the American liner *Philadelphia* to-day.

Mr. Gauntlett, who brought back the body of A. L. Hopkins, president of the Newport News company, who was lost on the *Lusitania,* was bitter against the British government, and immediately upon his return consulted with counsel about bringing a suit against the Cunard Company.

"I was dumbfounded on reaching Queenstown," said Mr. Gauntlett, "to find a flotilla of serviceable torpedo-boats and destroyers secure and snug in the harbor, with their crews lolling about their decks, while German submarines were blowing up English ships a few hours away.

"The flotilla was in command of a superannuated officer. I made it my business to hunt him up and ask him why he wasn't outside doing something. He said he was under admiralty orders not to risk his boats."

The bodies on the *Philadelphia* included Mrs. H. J. Keser, of Philadelphia; Master W. S. Hodges, Jr., of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Henry Macdona, William Calvert and Mrs. Della Condon, of New York, all *Lusitania* victims.—*Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch,* June 4, 1915.

XVI.

Statement of the Cunard Company.

Cunard Holds Britain Must Pay Damages.

A forecast of the Cunard line's attitude in the litigation which will arise from the sinking of the *Lusitania* was made public yesterday by Charles Stead, the advertising manager of the Cunard Company.

Mr. Stead pointed out that the Cunard Company does not regard itself responsible for the *Lusitania* or any other of its ships after they have left the three-mile limit of the United States. From that point on, he explained, the Cunard liners are in the complete control of the British Admiralty.

International law experts interpreted this as meaning that damage suits which would ordinarily be brought against the Cunard Company might be met with the defense that these actions be brought instead against the British Government.

Another ground cited for this belief was the advertised warning of the German Embassy that the *Lusitania* would run the risk of just such a fate as finally attacked her. This warning was known to the British Admiralty, and if the British government was in charge of the *Lusitania* the British government must have known, it was argued, into what perils it took the ship when it guided her into the British "war zone."

BRITISH ADMIRALTY IN ABSOLUTE CONTROL.

"The Cunard Company cannot fix the responsibility," said Mr. Stead, "for the reason that the *Lusitania* when torpedoed was entirely out of the control of the Cunard Company *and operated under command of the British Admiralty*. Ever since the war this condition has prevailed.

"Not only has the Admiralty assumed charge of every ship of our line outside the United States three-mile zone, but it has made this control so absolute that we have even been unable to reach our own vessels by wireless for any purpose.

"On one occasion, not very long ago, we discovered soon after one of our ships had left New York, that a very important detail concerning its cargo had been overlooked in our instructions to the captain. We immediately tried to reach the ship by wireless. We not only tried to get

her direct, but also relayed to the British Admiralty the message we wished delivered to her.

ORDUNA STOPPED IN MIDOCEAN AND DIVERTED.

"When the liner reached England we learned that neither our own direct message nor the message we had sent through the Admiralty had been delivered to her.

"Similarly, not so very long, the *Orduna* was halted practically in midocean by a wireless message from the British Admiralty and ordered to proceed to Halifax to take on troops for transport to England. This caused considerable indignation among passengers on the *Ordunda,* and sometime later, when the ship was lying at her pier in New York I was on board with the captain.

"The matter of her sudden shift to Halifax came up in conversation, and the captain volunteered to show me his wireless message from different British warships which were relaying to him the Admiralty instruction. These messages made a sheaf nearly an inch thick and were all of the same tenor. The captain was absolutely without discretion in the matter and had only one course open to him, namely obedience."—*New York American,* May 8, 1915.

XVII.

The Official English Investigation.

Churchill Tells of Warning Ship.

Gave Directions As to the Lusitania's Course, He Informs Commons—Turner Replied.

London, May 10.—A statement was made by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons this afternoon in regard to the sinking of the *Lusitania.* It had been anxiously awaited. Criticism of the Admiralty measures to safeguard the great Cunarder had been restrained, but underlying the outward expression of it was deep-felt anxiety.

All things taken into account, the amount of protection which the British Navy could give any particular ship, he said, was a question dependent on the broad consideration of the objects which the Admiralty had to attain and the means at its disposal to effect them. The country was anxious as to whether Churchill would be able to say enough either to justify what had been done by the Admiralty, or at least to explain why what had been done had failed to safeguard the *Lusitania.*

Gloom was over the House—not the gloom of discouragement but of relentless anger, deep and ominous—a phenomenon unknown since the days when Great Britain confronted Napoleon. The Prime Minister, his son among the wounded in the Dardanells, sat between Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, the three of them conversing gravely, Mr. Churchill with an occasional emphatic gesture.

Llewellyn Williams brought forward a list of charges against the Germans he wished to see referred to the signatories of the Hague Convention. The poisoning of wells in South Africa, the use of poisonous gases in France and Flanders, murder and piracy on the high seas, the bombardment of unfortified places, the looting and destruction of libraries and private houses, inhuman treatment of prisoners—so ran the indictment. Mr. Asquith answered in a low tone. He avoided all epithets. Neutral countries, he was sure, would take note of these things without any reminder from the British government and neutral countries would judge that this war was fought for the defense of civilization. A subdued cheer followed the words, but no excitement. It meant rather the true instinct of determination.

Later began Mr. Churchill's ordeal. He had to face a volley of questions as formidable as could assail a responsible minister. Lord Charles Beresford and Messrs. Houston and MacMaster led what can only be described as the attack, with the members leaning forward to listen. The inquiries were again and again renewed, not as a mere controversy of words, but as an issue involving life and death. What was the *Lusitania's* speed? Was Old Head of Kinsale patrolled? Had the Admiralty received warnings issued from the German Embassy in America? Was it not known that submarines were actively at work in the region, and had not the *Candidate* and *Centurion,* two liners, been sunk only a day before? Finally, was it not the practice of the Admiralty to meet and convoy steamers conveying horses, and if so, why not the *Lusitania?*

Mr. Churchill referred most of these matters to the Mersey Commission, only laying down two conditions: First, that the naval disposition must not be disclosed, and, secondly, that the naval resources did not enable the Admiralty to convoy all of the 200 vessels which come daily to these shores.

Bonar Law here intervened, and at once the situation changed. He drew from Mr. Churchill the disclosure that messages had been sent by the Admiralty to the *Lusitania* and had been acknowledged by that vessel, and that the last of these messages was timed a few minutes before the catastrophe.

"I will say nothing further," he added, "for pending the inquiry any discussion might be interpreted as implying blame on the captain."

"Why," asked Lord Charles Beresford, "did my private warnings of a fortnight ago pass unheeded?"

"They were not unheeded," answered the Prime Minister sharply. Mr. Churchill added that many of the noble lord's suggestions were carried out.

Sir Richard Cooper was quite certain that on April 14th a new kind of German submarine had appeared, and he even demanded a secret sitting of the House in order to reveal his information. Mr. Churchill assured him that his news was wholly untrue, but that it was quite right to communicate it to the Admiralty for investigation, and he would be delighted to grant a further interview.

London, Tuesday, May 11.—Winston Spencer Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, was the target of a multitude of pointed questions in the House of Commons yesterday as to what precautions were taken to safeguard the *Lusitania.*

"The Admiralty had general knowledge of the German warning issued in America," Mr. Churchill stated, "and from that knowledge and other information concerning submarine movements, it sent warnings to the *Lusitania* and directions as to her course. I think, however, it not

right is going to be a subject of inquiry, and, and it might appear that I was endeavoring to throw blame on the captain of the *Lusitania* in a matter which will be a subject of full investigation."

Mr. Churchill said that this investigation by the Board of Trade would be conducted by Lord Mersey, assisted by skilled assessors and that it would be opened without avoidable delay.

"In the meantime," he continued, "it is premature to discuss the matter. But I must make it plain that in no circumstances will it be possible to make public the naval dispositions for patrolling our coast. Our resources do not enable us to provide destroyer esscorts for mail and passenger ships."

Replying to further questions, Mr. Churchill said:

"The shocking exception of the *Lusitania* should not divert the attention of the House of Commons and the country from the fact that Great Britain's entire seaport trade has been carried on without appreciable loss. The general principle regarding the providing of an escort is that merchant traffic must look after itself, subject to the general arrangements of the Admiralty, and there is no reason to suppose that this principle is not entirely successful."

Andrew Bonar Law, leader of the Opposition in the House, asked if any answer had been received from the captain of the *Lusitania,* showing that the Admiralty instructions to the liner had come to his hand. Mr. Churchill replied that both messages were acknowledged and the second acknowledgment came a very short time before the attack was made.—*New York Times,* May 11, 1915.

Captain Acknowledges Receiving Instructions.

Kinsale, Ireland, May 11.—Captain Turner, of the *Lusitania,* was one of the witnesses before the coroner at the inquest here over the *Lusitania's* dead. Asked whether he had received "any special instructions as to the voyage," he replied that he had, but was not at liberty to tell what they were.

"Did you carry them out?" asked the coroner.

"Yes, to the best of my ability," the captain replied.

"Tell us in your own words what happened after passing Fastnet."

"The weather was clear," Captain Turner answered. "We were going at a speed of eighteen knots. I was on the port side and heard Second Officer Hefford call out: 'Here's a torpedo.'

"I ran to the other side and saw clearly the wake of a torpedo. Smoke and steam came up between the last two funnels. There was a slight

shock. Immediately after the first explosion there was another report, but that may possibly have been internal.

"I at once gave the order to lower the boats down to the rails, and I directed that women and children should get into them.

"I also gave orders to stop the ship," Captain Turner continued, "but we could not stop as the engines were out of commission. It was not safe to lower boats until the speed was off the vessel.

"When she was struck she listed to starboard. I stood on the bridge when she sank and the *Lusitania* went down under me. She floated about eighteen minutes after the torpedo struck her. I was picked up from among the wreckage and afterwards brought aboard a trawler.

"No warship was convoying us. I saw no warship and none was reported to me as having been seen. At the time I was picked up I noticed bodies floating on the surface, but saw no living persons.

"Eighteen knots was not the normal speed of the Lusitania, was it?

"At ordinary times," answered Captain Turner, 'she could make 25 knots, but in war times her speed was reduced to 21 knots. My reason for going 18 knots was that I wanted to arrive at Liverpool bar without stopping and within two or three hours of high waters.'

"Was a lookout kept for submarines, having regard to previous warnings?

"Yes, we had double lookouts.

"Were you going a zigzag course at the moment the torpedo took place?

"No, it was bright weather and land was clearly visible.

"Was it possible for a submarine to approach without being seen?

"Oh, yes, quite possible.

"Something has been said regarding the impossibility of launching the boats on the port side.

"Yes," said Captain Turner, 'owing to the listing of the ship.'

"How many boats were launched safely?

"I cannot say.

"Were any launched safely?

"Yes, and one or two on the port side.

"Were your orders promptly carried out?

"Yes.

"Was there any panic?

"No, there was no panic at all. It was almost calm.

"How many persons were on board?

"There were 1,500 passengers and about 600 crew.

By the foreman of the jury: "In the face of the warnings at New York that the *Lusitania* would be torpedoed, did you make application to the Admiralty for an escort?

"No, I left that to them. It is their business, not mine. I simply had to carry out my orders to go—and I would do it again.

Captain Turner uttered the last word of this reply with great emphasis.

By the coroner: "I am very glad to hear you say so, captain.

By a juryman: "Did you get a wireless to steer your vessel in a northern direction?

"No," replied Captain Turner.

"Was the course of the vessel altered after the torpedoes struck her?

"I headed straight for land, but it was useless. Previous to this the watertight bulkheads were closed. I suppose the explosion forced them open. I don't know the exact extent to which the *Lusitania* was damaged.

"There must have been serious damage done to the water-tight bulkheads?

"There certainly was, without doubt.

"Were the passengers supplied with life belts?

"Yes.

"Were any special orders given that morning that life belts be put on?

"No.

"Was any warning given you before you were torpedoed?

"None whatever. It was suddenly done and finished.

"If there had been a patrol boat about might it have been of assistance?

"It might, but it is one of those things one never knows.

With regard to threats against his ship, Captain Turner said he saw nothing except what appeared in the New York papers the day before the *Lusitania* sailed. He never had heard the passengers talking about the threats, he said.

"Was a warning given to the lower decks after the ship had been struck?

"All the passengers must have heard the explosion," Captain Turner replied.

Captain Turner in answer to another question said he received no report from the lookout before the torpedo struck the *Lusitania.*

After physicians had testified that the victims had met death through prolonged immersion and exhaustion, the coroner summed up the case and the jury brought in its verdict, charging the Emperor, and government of Germany and the submarine's crew with willful murder.

Deny Statement of Captain of Lusitania.

Passengers Also Charge That Crew of Ship Exhibited Incompetency.

London, June 17.—Charges that incompetency of the *Lusitania's* crew was partly responsible for the heavy loss of life when the liner was torpedoed, were made by survivors who testified to-day at the official inquiry.

A passenger named Baker swore that the steamer lacked competent men to aid in lowering the boats, and that several passengers undertook the task.

"I was helping to put one boat over," said Baker, "when one of Captain Turner's staff, named Anderson, megaphoned from the bridge: 'Stop lowering that boat. There is no danger. The ship isn't going to sink.'"

Before the testimony of passenger survivors was taken Captain Turner was recalled to the dock. He admitted that for fully ten minutes he did not realize that the *Lusitania* was sinking, but he denied he had ordered women and children to leave the boats.

Seaman O'Neill testified that after the first explosion he saw another torpedo pass behind the stern of the *Lusitania.*

Mrs. Rossiter, a survivor, flatly contradicted Captain Turner. She said she heard the captain order the passengers to leave the boats.

"The lifeboat I was in began leaking badly the minute it struck the water," testified William Cairns. "It had been lowered by the passengers because only a few were on deck. I jumped out when I saw the boat going down and immediately afterward it disappeared. I don't know what became of the other passengers who were in it."

Francis Jenkins, another survivor, said if instructions were posted telling passengers what to do in an emergency, he did not see them. On the day before the liner was torpedoed, he said he saw a lifeboat without any plug.—*Richmond (Va.) Evening Journal,* June 17, 1915.

Speed Might Have Saved Lusitania.

London, June 16.—Baron Mersey, president of the Court of Inquiry into the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania,* intimated this afternoon that the investigation would soon be ended.

The baron said he was quite satisfied as to the most important questions—the speed of the vessel at the time she was attacked and the absence of British destroyers as an escort. He believed the court had before it all the evidence it was likely to obtain relative to the alleged shortage of officers and the use of boats at the time of the catastrophe.

Naval Commander Anderson, one of to-day's witnesses, dwelling upon the importance of speed to avoid submarines, declared that if the *Lusitania* had made 21 knots and taken a zig-zag course, she could still have reached Liverpool at the earliest possible moment for crossing the bar, and that she would have had a much greater chance to escape the submarine.

AMOUNT OF COAL SAVED.

The coal saved during the voyage, by cutting off 6 of the 25 boilers, amounted to 1,000 tons, according to the testimony of a passenger, who said he received this information from Staff Captain Anderson.

Alfred A. Booth, chairman of the board of the Cunard Steamship Company, was asked by the attorney general, Sir Edward Carson, why it was that the *Lusitania* was economizing by using only 19 of her 25 boilers at the time she was torpedoed.

"So far as submarines are concerned, there is no difference between 21 and 24.5 knots," Mr. Booth replied.

Mr. Carson then asked whether there was any difference between 18 knots, the speed at which the *Lusitania* was proceeding when attacked, and 21 knots? Mr. Booth replied that no steamer making more than 14 knots was known to have been struck by a torpedo from a submarine until the *Lusitania* was hit.

CAPTAIN HAD FREE HAND.

Mr. Booth was cross-examined by an attorney representing survivors as to whether the company "took any steps to prevent the *Lusitania* from doing what she did do; namely, entering the war zone on schedule." The witness replied he did not know what schedule time meant, but Captain Turner had been given entire discretion.

The attorney for the survivors asked Mr. Booth why he had stated the *Lusitania* was being run for reason of economy merely to pay expenses. The witness said the bookings of first and second class passengers were nearly normal, but that the number of steerage passengers was only one-third the normal, which occasioned a loss.

FULL SPEED NOT ORDERED.

Mr. Booth said no instructions had been sent to the *Lusitania* to run at full speed through the danger zone. He also said that on account of the war there were many poorly trained men in the crew.

Able Seaman Quinn, who was in the crow's nest of the *Lusitania* when she was struck, said he saw the torpedo coming and expressed the opinion that the *Lusitania* could not have escaped even if she had been "going 100 knots an hour."—*Washington Post,* June 17, 1915.

The Lusitania Inquiry.

If it were not for the fact that Great Britain is forced to safeguard her own interests with reference to the later disaster, the hearing in the *Lusitania* case, now being conducted by Baron Mersey, would parallel the hearing in the case of the *Titantic,* so far as revelations of carelessness are disclosed.

Now, however, Great Britain must suffer as a nation if carelessness either on the part of the shipowning company or the admiralty is proved. The fact that the testimony with reference to the wireless orders sent to the captain of the *Lusitania* from the admiralty is being heard in secret is not likely to increase public confidence in the unbiased character of the hearing and the final decision.

But even if it is true that the orders to run slowly were given by the directors of the Cunard Line themselves, merely in the interest of economy, the charge of carelessness will stand. It is argued that even though the ship had been going at full speed she would not have been able to avoid the torpedo, but it must be clear that the danger would have been lessened.

If there had been no slowing down, the *Lusitania* might have outdistanced the submarines, so that they would not even have had the chance of aiming at her.

Some money may have been saved by the lower speed, but the saving did not justify the loss of more than 1,000 lives. There is no excuse for the failure to exercise every possible precaution to minimize the danger to the *Lusitania.—Washington Post,* June 17, 1915.

Lusitania's Boats Not Well Handled.

Two Sank for Need of Plugs, Others Never Unlashed, Inquiry Shows.

London, June 17.—To-day's inquiry into the sinking of the *Lusitania* brought forth testimony that at least two lifeboats, filled with passengers, had sunk immediately on touching the water because they were not properly plugged. It also was testified that several of the collapsible boats were tightly lashed to the ship's deck, even after the *Lusitania* had entered the danger zone, and that for this reason they were of no use when the steamer went down.

Some of to-day's evidence, moreover, showed that Staff Captain Anderson countermanded the orders of Captain Turner and directed women and children to leave the boats they already had entered, saying that there was no danger and that the steamer would not sink.

The inquiry was concluded late this afternoon. There will be, however, some additional testimony taken in camera, in reference to the navigation of the steamer.

SAW ANOTHER TORPEDO.

It was developed, on the testimony of Seaman O'Neill, who has been in the British navy, that a torpedo approached the *Lusitania* from the port side, missing her and passing by at her stern. This would indicate that a second submarine was lying by on the other side of the steamer.

O'Neill's testimony was corroborated by a fellow seaman, who said that he recognized the wash of a torpedo from the port side. Sir Edward Carson, the Attorney-General, expressed his conviction, based on the testimony, that a second submarine was lying in wait for the *Lusitania* in case the first submarine should not finish the job, but Baron Mersey, the presiding judge, said that he believed O'Neill must have been mistaken.

Captain W. T. Turner was recalled and asked why the collapsible boats were not freed from their chocks. He replied that he feared the boats would slide about when the ship listed and force passengers overboard. The captain further admitted that some boats were strapped on top of others.

Chief Carpenter Robertson was asked by the attorney for a relative of one of the victims if, in view of testimony that one of the boats had leaked so badly that two of the occupants had drowned, the boats had been in good condition. He replied that he believed them to be in such condition.

Several persons testified that no life belts were available on deck, Bertram Jenkins, of New York, saying that he remarked this fact several times to fellow passengers.

"That you did not see them, I will believe," commented Baron Mersey, "but that they were not there I cannot believe."

One witness said that he had aided in lowering a boat full of women and children which leaked so badly on entering the water that it sank. He was asked if the boat had been damaged while passing over the ship's side, and replied that he was not aware of such an occurrence.

B. A. Thomas, the Welsh coal operator, who was on the *Lusitania*, was of the opinion that some of the crew did not obey the captain's orders to attend first to the rescue of women and children, but attempted to save themselves.

41 PER CENT. OF CREW SAVED.

After Mr. Thomas's testimony Baron Mersey asked for the percentages of those saved. The figures were produced and showed that of the crew 41 per cent. of the men and 36 per cent. of the women were

saved. Of the passengers 38.8 per cent. of the men and 38.6 of the women were saved. Only 27.1 per cent. of the children escaped.

Baron Mersey remarked, after these figures had been read, that they seemed to bear out the evidence given by Mr. Thomas that the crew had been more concerned over their own safety than over that of the passengers.

Sir Edward Carson read a list of twenty-one questions submitted to the court. They asked whether there were any troops on board, whether the captain had received and executed any instructions from the Admiralty in reference to navigation and whether any blame for the loss of the ship could be attached to the captain and the owners.—*New York Sun,* June 18, 1915.

Ordered From Boats.

Lusitania's Passengers Assured That Ship Was Safe.

London, June 17.—The public inquiry into the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania* by a German submarine was ended this afternoon. A short session in camera will be held tomorrow to take further evidence as to whether Captain Turner observed fully the admiralty's warnings, but none of this will be made public.

J. B. Baker, a survivor of the *Lusitania* disaster, surprised the official court of inquiry when he testified to-day that Staff Captain J. C. Anderson stopped the rescue work while the ship was sinking.

ASTONISHED BY TESTIMONY.

This testimony astounded Sir Edward Carson, the attorney general, who exclaimed: :

"Is that statement true?"

"I swear it is true," replied Baker "From the bridge I heard him order men to stop lowering lifeboats. He shouted there was no danger, as the ship was not going to sink. There seemed to be a lack of competent seamen on board."

Other survivors declared that Anderson countermanded orders Captain Turner had given to get the women and children into the boats. Several testified they got into the boats, and had to leave them later, on orders from Anderson, who was heard shouting, "The ship is safe."

When the attorneys connected with the case were asked for their opinions this afternoon, A. C. Edwards, M. P., representing the Seamen's Union, said it was obvious that if a zigzagging course was an element of safety, as the admiralty expert had testified, then the captain and owners of the steamer "showed grave culpability."

"Had it anything to do with the calamity?" asked Baron Mersey.

DOUBT SPEED MATTERED.

Mr. Edwards replied that the evidence disclosed the company was economizing in the consumption of coal. As Captain Turner was holding the ship to a straight course, at a speed of 18 knots, he said, it was easy for a submarine to take its proper position, whereas if the vessel had been zigzagging it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to tell where the ship would pass.

"The evidence shows the torpedo suddenly came into the side," was Baron Mersey's comment. "How would the speed of the vessel have affected that catastrophe?"

Sir Edward Carson expressed his conviction that a second submarine was laying in wait on the port side of the *Lusitania.* Sir Edward made this statement in reply to an argument put forward by Baron Mersey, who said he thought a mistake had been made by Seaman O'Neill, one of the witnesses, who testified he had seen the wash of a torpedo passing the stern of the *Lusitania* from the port to the starboard side immediately after the liner had been hit on the starboard side.

POSITIVE HE SAW TORPEDO.

O'Neill was formerly in the navy. He is positive that he recognized the wash of a torpedo, although he did not see the submarine which fired it from the port side. His testimony was corroborated by another seaman witness, who testified also that he saw the wash of two torpedoes from the starboard side. These came forward in parallel lines until they almost reached the ship, when they parted at a slight angle, first one and then the other striking the *Lusitania.*

It was also testified that no life belts were available on deck during the voyage. Bertram Jenkins, of New York, a saloon passenger, said he had remarked several times to other passengers on the absence of life belts.

"That you did not see them I well believe, and that they were not there I cannot believe," commented Baron Mersey.

WOMEN NEGLECTED BY CREW.

A woman witness also told the court she was unable to find life belts. Another passenger said he helped to launch a life boat full of women and children, unassisted by the crew, but the boat leaked so badly that it sank a few minutes after touching the water.

D. A. Thomas, known as the British "coal king," who was on the *Lusitania* was of the opinion that some members of the crew did not obey the captain's orders to attend first to the rescue of women and children, but attempted to save themselves first."—*Washington Post,* June 18, 1915.

The English Inquiry.

London, June 17.—The public inquiry into the sinking of the *Lusitania* by a German submarine was ended this afternoon. A short secret session will be held to-morrow to take further evidence as to whether Captain Turner observed fully the Admiralty's warnings.

When the attorneys in the case were asked for their opinions, A. C. Edwards, M. P., representing the seamen's union, said it was obvious that if a zigzagging course was an element of safety as the Admiralty expert had testified, then the captain and owners of the steamer "showed grave culpability."

"Had it anything to do with the calamity?" asked Baron Mersey.

Mr. Edwards replied that the evidence disclosed the company was economizing in the consumption of coal. As Captain Turner was holding the ship to a straight course at a speed of 18 knots, he said, it was easy for a submarine to take its proper position, whereas if the vessel had been zigzagging it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to tell where the ship would pass.

"The evidence shows the torpedo suddenly came into the side," was Baron Mersey's comment. "How would the speed of the vessel have affected the catastrophe?"

The only question on which Baron Mersey desired light was the statement of D. A. Thomas, the coal operator, that, while the first and second class passengers and the stewards and stewardesses were brave and helpful, the steerage passengers were in confusion, and members of the crew were mainly interested in saving themselves, giving a general appearance of lack of discipline.

Solicitor-General Smith presented statistics of those saved, showing that 41 per cent. of the crew, 38.8 per cent. of the male passengers, 38.6 per cent. of the female passengers and 27 per cnt. of the children were rescued. Mr. Smith declared, however, that these figures did not give a fair idea, as the women and children were unable to stand exposure, while the sailors and passengers who were able to swim were of more hardy physique. Consequently, the number saved was not indicative whether the crew took the boats to the exclusion of passengers.

The outstanding questions, Mr. Smith said, were the responsibility of the ship's master and the company's action in restricting the number of boilers in use.

A SECOND SUBMARINE.

Sir Edward Carson, the attorney-general, expressed his conviction that a second submarine was lying in wait on the port side of the *Lusitania*. Sir Edward made this statement in reply to an argument put forward by Baron Mersey, who said he thought a mistake had been made by Seaman O'Neill, one of the witnesses before the court, who testified he

had seen the wash of a torpedo passing the stern of the *Lusitania* from the port to the starboard side immediately after the liner had been hit on the starboard side.

O'Neill was formerly in the navy. He is positive that he recognized the wake of a torpedo, although he did not see the submarine which fired it from the port side. His testimony was corroborated by another seaman witness, who testified also that he saw the wash of two torpedoes from the starboard side. These came forward in parallel lines until they almost reached the ship, when they parted at a slight angle, first one and then the other striking the *Lusitania.*

INCREASE OF BOATS INEFFECTIVE.

Captain W. T. Turner, of the *Lusitania,* was recalled to the witness stand and asked why the collapsible boats had not been freed from their chocks on entering the danger zone. He replied he feared the boats would slide about when the ship listed, and sweep passengers into the sea. The captain admitted that some boats were strapped on the top of others.

When asked by Baron Mersey if the increase in the number of small boats on liners since the *Titantic* disaster was of any advantage, Captain Turner answered that he did not think so.

Chief Steward Jones declared he had not seen any lifebelts on the upper deck of the *Lusitania* after the liner had left New York. Chief Carpenter Robertson said the condition of the lifeboats was good when the *Lusitania* left New York. In reply to the statement of the attorney for a relative of one of the victims that a certain lifeboat leaked so badly that all but two of the occupants were drowned, the chief carpenter replied that he was unable to throw any light on this statement, but said it was possible for the hot sun to have warped the boat's sides.

AS TO WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

The evidence showed Staff Captain Anderson countermanded the orders Captain Turner had given previously to get the women and children into the boats. A number of witnesses testified that they got into the boats and had to leave them later on orders from Captain Anderson, who was heard shouting, "the ship is safe."

A passenger said he helped launch a lifeboat full of women and children, unassisted by the crew, but the boat leaked so badly it sank in a few minutes. Baron Mersey asked whether the boat was damaged in being lowered. The witness said that if it bumped against the hull as it was going down he was unaware of it.

D. A. Thomas, known as the British "coal king," who was on the *Lusitania,* testified that some members of the crew did not obey the cap-

tain's orders to attend first to the rescue of women and children, but attempted to save themselves.—*Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle,* June 18, 1915.

Findings in Lusitania Inquiry Made Public.

Court Attaches No Blame to Captain Turner or to Cunard Line, Vessel's Owners.

London, July 17.—"Torpedoes fired by a submarine of German nationality" caused the loss of the steamship *Lusitania* and its passengers, according to the findings of the court of inquiry appointed to investigate the disaster.

The court, in announcing its opinion to-day, held that no blame attached either to Captain Turner, commander of the vessel, or the Cunard Line, its owners.

"After having carefully inquired into the circumstances of the disaster," says the opinion, "the court finds the loss of said ship and lives was due to damage caused the ship by torpedoes fired by a submarine of German nationality.

"In the opinion of the court, the act was done, not merely with the intention of sinking the ship, but also with the intention of destroying the lives of the people on board."

The court held that the lifeboat and life belt facilities were adequate; that the demeanor of the crew was above all blame, and that the conduct of the passengers, barring a slight panic when the steerage passengers came on deck, was praiseworthy.

The court also found that the ship was unarmed, and that her cargo was a general one, the ammunition aboard consisting only of 5,000 cases of cartridges, from which there was no explosion.

DISTINCT DISAPPOINTMENT TO AMERICAN SURVIVORS.

A small gathering, composed almost entirely of *Lusitania* survivors and their relatives, listened to the reading of the findings by Baron Mersey. It was a distinct disappointment to the American survivors, who expressed indignant surprise at the portion which exonerated Captain Turner and the Cunard Line from all blame and commended the discipline of the crew.

Several attorneys representing American clients listened closely to the reading of the judgment, which may have a great effect on actions brought against the steamship company.

Among the spectators were Walter Webb-Hare, representing the Vanderbilt family; Major F. Warren Peart and Mrs. Peart, of New

York, and F. B. Jenkins, of Chicago, survivors, and William Crichton, of New York, whose wife was lost.

Before the reading began, Major Peart, who has followed the whole case closely, expressed the opinion that the decision would sharply condemn the officers of the ship and the Cunard Line for negligence.

"No doubt, there were mishaps in handling the ropes of the boats," Baron Mersey said, "but, in my opinion, there was no incompetence or neglect."

FAILURE TO FOLLOW ADVICE NO REASON FOR BLAME.

Baron Mersey found Captain Turner was fully advised by the British Admiralty as to the best course, but added that in some respects he did not follow it. The court pointed out, however, that the Admiralty instructions were not intended to prevent Captain Turner from exercising his individual judgment, and that his failure to follow the Admiralty's advice to the letter was no reason for blame.

Reduction of the *Lusitania's* speed from twenty-four and one-half to twenty-one knots still left the vessel faster than any other boat on the Atlantic, said Baron Mersey, and he found there was no reason to blame the Cunard Company for that economy during wartime.

Relative to the Admiralty instructions, the court said that phase of the inquiry was in camera, and that it would be contrary to public interest to discuss it.

"The captain of the ship, Mr. Thomas Turner," said Lord Mersey, "gave his evidence truthfully and well. I am quite satisfied that the two captains and the officers are competent men, and that they did their duty. Captain Turner remained on the bridge till he was swept into the sea, and Captain Anderson was working on deck until he went overboard and was drowned."

The court also praised Leslie N. Morton, acting as extra lookout when the *Lusitania* was torpedoed.

"He was only eighteen years of age, but he seems to have exhibited great courage, self-possession and resource," said Lord Mersey. "He was the first to observe the approach of the torpedoes, and before they had touched the ship he had reported them to the bridge by telephone."

INSTRUMENTAL IN SAVING NEARLY 100 LIVES.

Though knocked off his feet when a torpedo hit the *Lusitania,* and later having to swim for his life, Lord Mersey said, the youth, aided by a member of the crew named Parry, righted a collapsible boat, and was instrumental in saving nearly 100 lives.

"Some passengers attempted to assist in launching the boats, and, in my opinion, they did more harm than good," Lord Mersey said. "It is, however, quite impossible to impose any blame on them. They were all working for the best."

The warnings issued by Germany before the ship left New York, the court found, only aggravated the crime of her sinking.

Explaining the curtailment of boiler power, Lord Mersey said the *Lusitania* had made five successive trips in this fashion, and, "in my opinion, this reduction in the steamer's speed was of no significance and was proper in the circumstances."

Lord Mersey characterized the torpedoing as a "murderous attack, because it was made with a deliberate and wholly unjustifiable intention of killing the people on board."

Of the testimony of a passenger describing himself as a French subject, who stated he had heard an explosion simliar to the rattling of a Maxim gun, Lord Mersey said:

"I do not believe this gentleman. His demeanor was very unsatisfactory, and there was no confirmation of his story. In my opinion, there was no explosion of any part of the cargo.

"Complaints were made by some witnesses about the manner in which the boats were launched and about their leaky condition. I do not question the good faith of these witnesses, but I think their complaints were ill founded. There doubtless were some accidents in handling the ropes, but it is impossible to impute negligence or incompetency in connection with them. There is no satisfactory evidence that any of the boats leaked."

Regarding the instructions to Captain Turner, Lord Mersey said:

"It was made abundantly plain to me that the Admiralty had devoted most anxious care and thought to questions arising out of the submarine peril, and that they had diligently collected all available information likely to affect the voyage of the *Lusitania.*

"It is certain that in some respects Captain Turner did not follow the advice given him. It may be, though I seriously doubt it, that had he done so his ship would have reached Liverpool in safety.—*Richmond Times-Dispatch,* July 18, 1915.

XVIII.

Submarines Cannot Give Warning.

View of an American Submarine Officer.

A great deal is being made of the denial by the British government and the Cunard Company of the statement that the *Lusitania* was armed. The denial proves nothing. The British government has made a record for lying in this war and has never told the truth when the lie suited its interests better. Its own actions belie its denial.

When the *Caronia,* another Cunard steamer, was commandeered for naval service in the port of New York, she just went outside the harbor and immediately mounted guns. Where did these guns come from? They were, of course, concealed somewhere on board. Dr. Dernburg calls attention to the fact that the *Caronia* was called off from naval service a few days ago and immediately put into New York harbor without guns. What became of her guns? They were, of course, concealed on board again, ready to be taken out at a moment's notice when wanted.

When German vessels put into an American port they are interned for the rest of the war, but a British warship can divest herself at will of her warlike character, come and go as she pleases, and become a warship again if the British Admiralty wants her. And this is what President Wilson calls neutrality.

It was the same with the *Lusitania* as with the *Caronia.* Granted that concealed guns could not be immediately utilized to fire on a submarine that had suddenly appeared, it is admitted by the Cunard Company that the *Lusitania* carried rifles and "a small stock of ammunition." It would not require much of that ammunition to kill the officer of a German submarine who would be foolish enough to give her the warning which the land lubber naval experts of Park Row insist should have been given. Perhaps these embryo Nelsons, Farraguts and Deweys don't know that the officers of British merchantmen are under orders from the Admiralty to either ram the submarine or shoot the officer who issues the warning that he is going to sink the vessel. Yet that order was published and several British captains endeavored to carry it out. Some of them claim to have succeeded and one has been decorated for doing so.

But perhaps the word of an American submarine officer will go farther in such matters than that of a landsman, and the word is forthcoming.

The New York Evening Post is not a yellow journal and it has never yet been accused of printing a fake. It is as clamorous as the *World,* the *Sun* or the *Tribune* for punishment of German "barbarism" in the matter of the *Lusitania,* and is one of the most anti-German and pro-English newspapers in the United States, so that nothing that appears in its columns can be classed as having the object of helping the German contention in any controversy. On Monday evening last the *Evening Post* published an interview with an unnamed American submarine officer who dealt with the question of the sinking of the *Lusitania* entirely from the professional and technical point of view, and he utterly scouts the landsman's theory that a warning was possible. The introduction to the interview describes the submarine officer thus:

Standing on the razor-back deck of a submarine over which the turbulent waters of the North River occasionally broke, an officer of the fotilla to-day painted the *Lusitania* disaster from the viewpoint of a man technically versed in the science of sudden destruction from an unseen source.

The whole interview is very well worth reading, but we are only concerned just now with what the officer says on the question of warning the ship about to be torpedoed, if the submarine captain has reason to believe that she is armed. He places himself in the position of the commander of the German submarine lying in wait for the *Lusitania* and gives a very vivid description of the situation. Here is how he puts it:

"The *Lusitania* is drawing nearer. When she is within 7,000 yards—or about four miles—she is in danger. But they let her come nearer. They are not here to make a mistake, these submarines. She gets within four thousand yards. As to this distance, I will say that our crews are disappointed if they do not hit a target six feet square with a torpedo at four thousand yards. The Germans are preparing to deliver their missiles. Everything is ready. You may ask why the submarines do not warn the vessel. They, of course, fully believe she is armed. A machine gun will sink a submarine, and a man standing on deck when a vessel of the sort is sufficiently near for him to speak to the liner's bridge can easily be picked off with a rifle.

"No, there was no thought of warning."

This disposes of the silly talk about warning. One rifle on board the *Lusitania* would have disposed of the man on the submarine that would have attempted to give the warning, and the *Lusitania* had several rifles and a stock of ammunition, even if her guns were stowed away out of sight and out of reach for the moment.—*Gaelic American,* May 15, 1915.

XIX.

A Review.

Dr. Hans Steinuth Upon the Submarine and the Lusitania.

By R. L. Orchelle.

The question of the *Lusitania* and that of submarine warfare are not matters of news, but matters of history and international law. The disheartening confusion which has resulted in the discussion of these problems by incompetent and ignorant journalists and by laymen, executives and the uninformed public generally must give way to the clear analysis of experts and the verdicts of sound thinkers. Here, too, Germany was first to break her way through those jungles of prejudice and those tangles of falsehood sown everywhere in her path.

I have just been reading two timely and important treatises upon these timely and important themes—"England und der U-Boot Krieg" and "*Lusitania,*" both by Dr. Hans Steinuth, a recognized authority in marine matters and a scholar of great attainments. Both these books give a luminous and exact presentation of the history of these two phenomena of modern warfare and international relationships. Dr. Steinuth makes no desperate attempt at defense—his defense lies in an objective presentation of the accepted principles, the recorded notes and documents, the actual facts and the inevitable deductions drawn therefrom. But these are sufficient and when combined with logic and a reasoning faculty unshaken by any furious partisanship, constitute a most damaging attack upon the unjust attitude assumed by Germany's enemies, and, unfortunately, our own government.

The successive measures taken by Germany in inaugurating and augmenting her submarine warfare against the merchant shipping of her chief enemy were, as Dr. Steinuth indisputably proves, in each and every case, in the nature of retaliation and reprisals. England was the first to overthrow all accepted principles of the Declaration of London, and to shelter herself behind the thin plea that it had not ratified all of these. England was the first country to discard all the regulations pertaining to contraband and deliberately to paralyse the legitimate rights of neutrals whom her sea-tyranny cowed into making no further protests save feeble and ineffective notes. Of these worthless and disregarded "scraps of paper" our own Government supplied quite a number for the waste-basket

of the British Foreign Office. True to her ruthless and immemorial policy of the bully of the seas, Britain proceeded on her way,—with her disregard for international law, her proclamation of war zones, her secret orders in council, her violation of other countries' flags, her monstrous and yet blundering attempt to starve out the entire German people; her seizure of neutral ships, her insolent robbery of the hospital ship *Ophelia* upon a lying pretext, her arming of merchant vessels and trawlers, and all those innumerable lawless acts which she considers as her prerogatives by her preponderance in brute tonnage over mere justice. There is something almost comic in this overweening arrogance, this assumption of virtuous self-sufficiency and these howls of fury and indignation when bubble after bubble is pricked and science triumphs over stupid malignity and numerical preponderance.

That proclamation of the German Admiralty issued of February 14, 1915, was the one inevitable and justifiable answer to the brutal harshness of the English orders. As a literary man and one who knows our own American lack of logic and our inability to realize Germany's position whilst breathing the poisonous gases of our strumpetted New York press, I might have wished to see that clause about the danger incurred by neutrals in the War Zone somewhat differently expressed. Its firmness and frankness gave as usual, a handle for the clamorous and virulent enemies of Germany to raise a frantic shout on behalf of the threatened neutrals—a shout which found strange echoes in the White House, as may be seen in that tone of warning solicitude and "now you mind what I am a-going to tell you" in our official attitude. The re-reading of this strange note induces the reflection that it is easier and safer to insist on neutral rights in some cases than in others.

Dr. Steinuth with great selective skill quotes the opinion of various neutral newspapers upon Germany's justifiable and in fact, necessary procedure in submarine warfare. Step by step this has developed, and Germany has not only shown consideration for neutrals but even courtesy, almost apologetic courtesy, I am afraid, toward her virulent and slanderous enemy.

One of the most incomprehensible psychic phenomena of the war is the train of reasoning employed by such British figure-heads as Balfour and Churchill. Their utterances are either the results of an ignorance or self-delusion so abysmal as to amount to sheer blindness, or else the deliberate falsification of fact—in order to deceive a dull-witted, ill-informed public. Most likely the latter, for such an attitude is in strict conformity with British politics. We have read with amazement the pronouncements of these two worthies upon the result of Germany's submarine war. It cannot be better answered than by quoting the concluding passage in Dr. Steinuth's brilliant little work: "The German submarine has thus achieved much of which England in its haughty aloofness and rooted

conviction of its power *aere perennior* never permitted itself to dream. It has annihilated English merchant vessels; it has reduced England's seaborne traffic; it has forced wages, freight rates and insurance premiums into the air; it has induced strikes, screwing up the price of food, produced a state of chaos in the entire world of English commerce—above all, a tiny David, has destroyed the awe with which neutral nations were wont to regard the Goliath of the Seas. England's prestige as the unrestrained mistress of the seas is slowly crumbling to pieces."

That America in its short-sighted solicitude for the freedom of movement of a few roving and reckless countrymen of ours should endeavor to weaken the great weapon which Germany wields so effectively against the oppressor of all nations—a weapon by which alone she can attain her great and majestic ideal of the freedom of the seas,—is in my opinion so deplorable, so unjust and so short-sighted that history must adjudge it as a stone placed in the very path of progress.

In his treatment of the *Lusitania* affair Dr. Steinuth pursues the same logical and scientific method. The torpedoing of this big liner is in effect, the direct application of the just principles upon which Germany based her "U-Boot" measures. All journalistic, "humanitarian," sentimental and technical considerations are beside the mark so far as abstract justice is concerned. With an artist's eye for dramatic effect, Dr. Steinuth in this book opens with an intimate note—the character of the *Lusitania,* the unnecessary but chivalrous warning issued by the German Government, the false assurances of the Cunard agent, the loud laugh of Captain Turner and the various facetious and foolish remarks of the betrayed American victims of British treachery. They spoke pompously—poor creatures—under the spell of our Anglomaniac press, repeating the hollow and boastful phrases of the London papers.

But the fair and generous, almost superfluous warnings uttered in the name of a true humanity and out of a real regard for neutral lives, were met by jeers and flouts—the blow fell and all the imbecile talk of a German "bluff" was converted on the instant into howls of impotent rage.

The great armed auxiliary liner with its gigantic cargo for the death and destruction of Germany was justly sent to the bottom. Any other course would have implied a gross crime by Germany against its own people—and seen in its larger aspects, against "humanity" a word which has grown almost nauseous to all who interpret it in a nobler sense. For the fact remains, as one clear-thinking American pointed out, that the destruction of the *Lusitania* saved more lives than were lost by it. A drowned horse-racing millionaire, a shallow and blatant disciple of culturine like Elbert Hubbard, or even the pathetic forms of drowned women and children upon the docks at Queenstown cannot alter the iron logic of the essential truth. They merely lay a still heavier burden of guilt upon the head of that nation whose icy ruthlessness has for centuries

drenched the world in blood and whose sordid motives furnish the key that wound up the gigantic spring of the world-war.

The verdict of Lord Mersey in the *Lusitania* case is a typical bit of English cant and Pharisaism. It contains several deliberate mis-statements, several deliberate non-sequitors, and is saturated with that top-lofty tone of moral indignation in which the English judge and politician are so expert. In its own class it is related to the recent attempt of the French paper *L'Illustration* to palm off an old photograph of a public manifestation of loyalty by the people of Berlin—as evidence that there was universal rejoicing throughout Germany because several hundred non-combatants lost their lives aboard the *Lusitania!* Here again we have that exchange of tedious and unfruitful notes between Germany and America—moral indignation, lack of insight and logic as well as obvious sympathy for England on one side—on the moral justification in the face of a great and a tragic fact and a touching dependence upon the laws of logic and philosophic abstraction in a world deprived of its senses by the howlings of a vicious press. And once more, as "Historicus, Junior" pointed out in his pregnant article upon the *Lusitania* case (just published in the *Continental Times*) we have the instance of the privileges of a few individuals being considered as of more importance than the life of a great nation struggling for its very existence against overwhelming odds!

To me the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the resultant loss of life, was nothing so terrible as the loss of reason and the debasement of all justice that accompanied it—especially in our country. The editors of the pro-Ally press in New York, including the sapless old *Outlook*, reminded one of cats in a fit, or the gyrations of headless hens.

To all Americans who know Germany I commend the reading of Dr. Steinuth's two excellent brochures upon these momentous questions. To see clearly in these tangles of right and wrong, of political casuistry and journalistic corruption is exceedingly difficult. Such clear and objective works should therefore be read not only by the scholar but by the ordinary citizen, a duty rendered the more easy by the simple and even fascinating manner of presentation.